The Emancipation of William Wyndham Grenville (1759-1834)

The Life of Lord Grenville in the English Landscape

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Award date:
2019

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

The Emancipation of William Wyndham Grenville (1759 - 1834):

The Life of Lord Grenville in the English Landscape

Vol. I/II

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath
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November 2018

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Declaration under Regulation 16. 5. (k).

This thesis develops and applies the author's ideas produced in 'The Search for Elysium: The Naturesque in England and Wales, 1743–1843', submitted towards the degree of Master of Philosophy at the University of Bristol, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, October 2010. The author has also made use of material prepared by him in the course of this research, published as: Wood, Min. "On Design and Process", Chapter 5, *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. Dr Marion Harney, Oxford: Wiley, 2014. The author has also lodged a report with Cornwall Record Office at AD 2531 'Boconnoc: the Braddock Down Plantations' (2 volumes), 2017.

Abstract

William Wyndham Grenville, an important political figure in the late eighteenth century, has been largely forgotten. Historians have never lifted the veil over his private life. This thesis examines for the first time one aspect of his character, his passion for landscape improvement, based on the unpublished sources of his manuscripts, correspondence and Essays, principally those held in the Dropmore Papers at the British Library.

The warm and engaging side of his character which emerges is in sharp contrast to his cold and austere public reputation. Together with his wife, Anne Pitt, he showed a command of the practical aspects of landscape improvement as well as versatility in dealing with the very different geographical, social and aesthetic challenges of Boconnoc in Cornwall, and Dropmore, in Buckinghamshire.

The research re-evaluates propositions advanced by Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight and Humphry Repton during the ‘picturesque’ debate, and the usefulness of that term in categorising landscapes. The Grenvilles’ dislike of the bare and bald designs of Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, which they described as 'Modern Gardening' was rooted in their opinion that they displayed few occurrences of interest, and failed to engage their sense of fun, something which was revealed by their innovative horticulture, plant collections and garden structures at Dropmore.

Grenville, rejecting an equivalence between painting and landscape gardening, described how the appreciation of landscape was subjective and driven by personal associations. Therefore, the separate but complementary tasks of making physical improvements and super-adding associative features needed to be brought to bear in making improvements. Their improvements are considered against the background of the opportunities and limitations facing them as landowners.

It is shown that the Grenvilles pursued the enhancement of beauty rather than picture making; harnessing the forces of nature rather than displacing them by design in an organic process described by the author as ‘naturesque’. The meaning of ‘nature’ in this context is defined.

Key Words

Grenville, Dropmore, Boconnoc, Picturesque, Naturesque, Association, Brown, Repton, Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight.

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Notes for Reader

Abbreviations

The British Library	BL
Cornwall Record Office.	CRO
Hampshire Record Office	HRO
The Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies	CBS
The National Library of Wales.	NLW
The National Portrait Gallery	NPG

Nomenclature

As was common practice during the period under review, first names were frequently used by successive generations, and titles changed as honours were conferred or inherited.
After first mention, the following individuals are referred to thereafter as:

William Wyndham, Lord Grenville (1759-1834): Grenville

His father, George Grenville (1712-1770): Lord Grenville

His mother Elizabeth (*née* Wyndham) (1726-1769): Lady Grenville

His eldest brother, George, 1st Marquis of Buckingham (1753-1813): Buckingham

His elder brother Thomas Grenville (1755-1846): Tom

His nephew Richard, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos: Chandos

His wife Anne Pitt, (1772-1864): Anne. As a couple: the Grenvilles

Her father Thomas Pitt, 1st Lord Camelford (1737-1793): Camelford

Her grandfather, Thomas Pitt (1705-1761): Thomas Pitt

Her mother, also Anne Pitt (*née* Wilkinson) (1738-1803): Lady Camelford

Her brother, Thomas Pitt, 2nd Lord Camelford (1775-1804): Thomas

Their nephew and heir, George Matthew Fortescue (1791-1877): Fortescue

His wife, Lady Louisa Ryder (1813-1899): Louisa

His brother, Hugh, 2nd Earl Fortescue (1783-1861): Lord Fortescue

Thomas ‘Diamond’ Pitt (1653-1726): The Governor

William Pitt the Elder, grandson of The Governor (1708-1778): Chatham

William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806): Pitt

Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839), a cousin: Hester

Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811): Dundas

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to record his sincere thanks to the following:
The archivists and staff at: the British Library (in particular those dealing with Western Manuscripts), the National Library of Wales, The Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Hampshire Record Office, Cornwall Record Office, The Sir John Soane Museum, Bath University Library, UK Parks and Gardens, Jenifer White of Historic England.
David Gladstone and Michael Harrison for access to Wotton
Boconnoc: the Fortescue family, especially the late Anthony Fortescue, Elizabeth Fortescue and daughters, Clare Fortescue and Sarah Ryder. The Estate Office, including the Resident Agent Richard Morris, Veryan Barnaby and Sima Hill. Dorothy Varcoe for sustaining us. The consultants Askew Nelson, Stephen Tyrrell and William Trinick, and the Head Forester William Geech. David Hazelhurst of Natural England. Catherine Lorigan for her painstaking work on the long history of Boconnoc (and moral support in the Manuscripts Reading Room) and Andrew Foot for his knowledge of local history.
Dropmore: the owners of the remaining part of the estate, the Livingstone family. Christian Sweet of Colson Stone, and Patrick Stileman, who have advised on the landscape and the Pinetum. The Burnham Historians, The Buckinghamshire Gardens Trust and the indefatigable Charles Boot. David Gedye for information about the Frost family and the introduction of Conifers.

I should record my appreciation of the work of Professor Malcom Andrews in providing such sound platforms for the study of the Picturesque Debate. My thanks are also due to Professor Timothy Mowl and Dr Michael Symes for help in understanding the historical context of the English Landscape Garden movement; Dr Kate Felus for widening the examination of the way landscapes are used; Philip White MBE for encouragement and inspiration; and to my son Humphrey Wood for pertinent challenges to the received wisdom of my generation. Above all I owe great thanks to Elaine Rawlinson for her patient support and helpful suggestions.

Lastly, but not least, my thanks are due to my supervisors, Dr Marion Harney and Dr Michael Forsyth for their valuable advice and guidance, and to Dr Bet McLeod, for her Herculean efforts in proofing and formatting this thesis.

Scope of the Thesis

This is not intended as a personal biography nor is it intended to provide a history of either Dropmore or of Boconnoc. Rather, it seeks to tease out the elements of Grenville's love for, and improvements, to those two properties and compare his distinctive approach to place-making with the popular genres adopted by others in his time. The 'eighteenth-century' refers to the 'long eighteenth-century', i.e., from 1700 to the end of the Hanoverian dynasty in 1837.

Despite the absence of any full account of Grenville's private life, there is a wealth of published material relating to the lives of the Grenville family, and significant archives exist of their papers and correspondence, housed at different repositories in the United Kingdom and the United States. The principal purpose of the study is to identify primary materials which are helpful in describing that part of his life devoted to 'landscape gardening'. This is a phrase he used himself in his collection of short essays *Dropmore* to describe the improvement of landscape. The study does not therefore confine itself to the period of his lifetime, 1759–1834, but includes some references to material that influenced him or which was influenced by him before and after his own participation in the development and creation of the two estates.

The Grenvilles had to adopt different strategies for each property. Dropmore in in Buckinghamshire was to become a home, while Boconnoc in Cornwall was a distant country estate. This study is not designed to give 'parallel' accounts of the two properties, but to pick out the essence of the contrasting strategies he applied to the two estates, and draw attention to those landscape improvements which illustrate Grenville's approach or reflect his character. When this study began in 2012, Boconnoc remained a thriving estate, its essential features still intact from Grenville's time, the house having been restored by Anthony Fortescue before 2010. Boconnoc has seen a rarely-broken succession in the style of management by the Pitt, Grenville and Fortescue families from 1760.

By contrast, Dropmore had been abandoned, the original house lost to a fire, the ownership fragmented, a golf course intruding and a replacement house and its grounds hosting a wholly inappropriate, and partially completed form of 'enabling' development'. Since 2013, there have been remarkable steps toward the restoration of both the house and the grounds, but it remains a work in progress, and it is too early to speculate on the extent to which features laid out by Grenville and Anne can be recovered. At Dropmore that succession was broken when the Fortescues left in 1938. Attention is given to the present state of Boconnoc, whist the account given of Dropmore has depended solely on archival material.

Nature and Natural

The noun‘Nature’ and the adjective ‘Natural’ are frequently used in this thesis. The words have been given a very wide range of meanings in the fields of both aesthetics and ecology. The Oxford English Dictionary gives 14 senses in which the word ‘Nature’ has been used as a noun, with 31 subsenses. It records the 21 senses in the which ‘Natural’ can been used, with 16 subsenses. The wide range of senses it has been given in aesthetics was considered by Lovejoy.[1] The lay person may be content to describe The UK Lake District and swathes of ‘ordinary countryside’ as natural. However, to UNESCO these are properly described as cultural landscapes, that is agro-pastoral land use systems, and it is on that basis the Lake District has, in 2017 been inscribed as a World Heritages Site[2]. The decision to rename ‘English Nature’ as ‘Natural England’ has also generated misunderstandings about what is or is not ‘Natural’.

In this thesis, and in the definition of Naturesque the word nature is used strictly in that of Sense 11(a) as it appears in the OED.[3] ‘The phenomena of the physical world collectively; *esp.* plants, animals, and other features and products of the earth itself, as opposed to humans and human creation’. These are the forces of growth and decay which act on every kind of landscape from those shaped by nature alone, to the most concentrated of urban environments.

Literature Review

Grenville's private life has been all but ignored by social historians. The landscapes he made at Dropmore, and improved at Boconnoc, fall outside any of the genres which have been favoured and discussed by garden historians and only one, Dropmore, was described in depth by contemporary gardening magazines.

Jupp is the only author to have written a full-length work on Grenville, *Lord Grenville*, a political biography,[4] and whilst it contains a good deal of personal information it does not delve deeply into Grenville's horticultural or landscape activities or his views on philosophical questions. He does sketch out the attitude of the Grenvilles to different landscape treatments as described in their journal of a Tour to South Wales etc.[5] and also gathers up some information about his dealings in land but he goes no further.

There have been several biographical accounts of the Pitt and the Grenville families. However, Beckett gives Grenville space on only four pages of his 288 page *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles* and then only to offer his thoughts on other members of the family.[6] Sir Tresham Lever in a rather warmer memoir of the Pitt family gives space to an account of the courtship of Anne by Grenville in his 1947 *The House of Pitt*. Sack in his 1979 study *The Grenvillites*[7] points up Grenville's devotion to the 'solitary out-of-doors life'. Sack wrote 'Grenville preferred nursing trees, gardens, and horses to the camaraderie derived from political activities' but does not dwell on how he went about indulging these passions. The most personal biography about family members is *The Half-Mad Lord* on the 2nd Lord Camelford by Tolstoy which skilfully reveals aspects of his character which belie the title of the book[8]. He charts the somewhat surprising mutual respect between him and his brother-in-law, bearing in mind Thomas Pitt's riotous life, but Grenville and his wife Anne are only peripheral figures in that account.

In William Hague's well-regarded biography *William Pitt the Younger* he recognises Grenville as one of a triumvirate, with Pitt and Dundas which held the real power in Pitt's first administration [1783-1801].[9] Nevertheless, it can be suggested that the importance of Grenville to the success of Pitt's first administration is underplayed. It is as if historians generally have skirted round discussion of Grenville's involvement in the great issues of the day because they really did not know what to make of him.

The best literary sources about Grenville's life in the landscape are those in his own words, as found in his journals, essays and correspondence. Several of Grenville's speeches published during his lifetime are not relevant to the thesis. However, Grenville's own privately

published *Dropmore* (1830)[10] in which he discusses aesthetics and landscape improvement is a key document disclosing his rejection of an equivalence between painting and landscape gardening, his avoidance of the picturesque as an objective in laying out his plantations. It also opens up the great weight that Grenville placed on associations in the making and in the appreciation of landscapes . Grenville circulated a volume of Poems *Nugae Metricae* in 1824 [poetic trifles, prefaced in Latin 'We know these things are nothing'], written in English, Latin and Greek which indicate several of his areas of interest and shows Grenville's love of animals, in particular, his dogs Tippo and Zephyr.[11]

The Dropmore Papers in three Series (with additions) at the British Library is the richest source of manuscript material relating to Grenville. It is from those papers that Grenville was, for example, able to publish his edited account of Lord Chatham's letters to Anne's father Lord Camelford.[12] The most important of these 'Camelford' volumes is in BL Add MS 69333, 'Family Characters and Anecdotes' in manuscript written in 1781 by Camelford for the benefit of his son Thomas Pitt.[13] Within BL Add MS 69176 at folios 168 to 187 there is an untitled bound notebook which contains notes of steps taken, or intended to be taken, in the landscape first by Camelford between 1764 and 1785, and then resumed, from folio 176, by Grenville himself in 1805. This is of key importance. The correspondence at BL Add MS 59488 between Camelford and the Rev'd Benjamin Forster, Parson at Boconnoc is revealing about the development of the Estate by Camelford and the upbringing of Anne. Grenville's own papers within Series II contain a number of volumes which explain the development of their ideas for landscape improvement in their own words. His correspondence with his future father-in-law, Camelford, at BL Add MS 69042 is possibly the best evidence of the courtship of Grenville and Anne. It shows the close friendship between the two men and contains at least one flash of insight into their shared interest in landscape improvement at Boconnoc. BL Add MS 69043 contains early correspondence between Grenville and his elder brother, Tom, between 1783 and his marriage in 1892, years during which Grenville succeeded, little by little, to assert his independence. Anne's Travel Diary of 1792 at BL Add MS 69291 reveals her emerging views on landscape appreciation at the age of 19. A private journal in two volumes at BL Add MS 69158 and 69157 following a tour to South Wales by Anne and Grenville in 1801 gives an account of their reactions to different sorts of landscape, in particular their loathing of improvements by Lancelot Brown and Henry Holland and their followers. There have been many accounts of their work in the landscape but those of Phibbs,[14] and Brown and Williamson[15] are the most comprehensive. Unlike the references below to Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight and Humphry Repton they do not examine the

philosophical basis behind Brown's work, the only available material being what he did rather than what he thought.

The couple were rarely apart for prolonged periods but when they were, in 1802, 1803, 1813 and 1822 their correspondence is dominated by discussion of landscape or architecture. That which survives of these epistolary conversations is contained in BL Add MS 58873. BL Add MS 69170 contains Grenville's correspondence with his Solicitor, Robert Charsley of Beaconsfield about the initial purchase of Dropmore Lodge and the careful process of land assembly that followed. Grenville's correspondence with his Agent at Boconnoc, and later at Dropmore, John Bowen, at BL Add MSS 59440 to 59445 and 59499 also shows a similar process of dealing and assembly taking place on an even larger scale in Cornwall. Bowen's letters contain a large number of beautifully drawn plans and sketches to illustrate points he is making to the Grenvilles.

The collection also includes at BL Add MSS 69051-69064, 15 volumes of correspondence passing between Anne, her nephew G M Fortescue and his wife Lady Louisa Ryder. They show how Anne remained in overall control of both estates until her death in 1864 and how G M Fortescue and Lady Louisa followed on the patterns set by the Grenvilles in landscape improvement. The papers did not come into the possession of the British Library until 1970 but whilst still privately owned by the Fortescue family they were subject to Historical Manuscript Commission Reports, supervised by Walter Fitzpatrick, between 1892 – 1899.[16] These reproduce what A. D. Harvey has described as 'the cream but only the cream' of the Series I Papers now in the Library but, nonetheless, as being 'indispensable'.[17]
Series I of the Papers (that is BL Add MSS 58855 – 5494) have been considered by Smith in a 1981 article in the British Museum Quarterly.[18] Harvey has also summarised the contents of Series I in his wider trawl of papers in the British Library relating to Grenville[19]. At the time of these two publications the volumes now contained in Series II and III (that is BL Add MSS 69038 – 69411 and & 71587 - 7196) had not been described, as they now are in the British Library Online Archives and Manuscript Catalogue.

Other papers in different collections in the British Library are generally of a political nature however BL Add MSS 41852 to 41853 in the Thomas (Tom) Grenville papers contains his correspondence with Grenville, the brother to whom he was closest. Harvey suggest this correspondence is of outstanding importance for the study of the careers of both men.[20].
Perhaps more eloquent than any descriptive accounts of the development of Dropmore are the carefully annotated pencil sketches by J C Buckler. Drawn between 1815 and 1840 at BL Add MS 36358 and BL Add MS 36360.

Papers relating to Boconnoc, and the families who have lived there, make up a very significant part of the Cornwall Record Office accessions. The Fortescue family items (which include materials relating to Camelford and Grenville) alone amount to 643 items. Of perhaps greatest value are the plans including those made and or annotated by John Bowen the Agent at Boconnoc, and the sketches which he included in his correspondence. These, when reconciled with the correspondence in the British Library, reveal the way in which the Grenvilles sought to improve the landscape in Cornwall.

Both the Inclosure Map and the Tithe Map for Boconnoc were prepared to meet statutory requirements, as were plans of the Boconnoc Glebe and its replacement at Braddock following the other 1809 Act for an exchange of land between the estate and the church authorities. As such they may be taken as accurately portraying the features relevant to those requirements. The Estate Map marked as being of 1772 obeys no such conventions. Whilst it does provide confirmation that some features were in place at that date, such as the 'Bastion', the 'Pheasantry', a kitchen garden to the south of the mansion and a circular feature to the north west of the Dorothy Garden, it is difficult to reconcile the depiction of tree cover, particularly as shown in the inset at the bottom right of the plan, with the description of Boconnoc as Camelford gives in BL Add MS 69333.

Because of the purchase by the Huntington Library of the Stowe papers, the amount of personal correspondence in the Buckinghamshire County archives is remarkable small considering the large landholdings of the Grenvilles, and their great influence, in the County. The most revealing material is in the correspondence between Grenville and Tom over the writing of the *Essays* in 1830. Scrope Bernard was one of Grenville's closest friends during his time at Christ Church and the correspondence in the Bernard Papers shows how important it was to Grenville to become independent and make his own way in life, CBS D-SB/OE/10. The archive contains the working papers of A.H. Packe in writing 'Burnham's Prime Minister' at CBS D/11/3/1.

The impact of landscape improvements achieved through the planting of trees and shrubs falls to be judged by their effect as seen decades later. The Phillimore papers in the Hampshire Record Office includes a number of photographs, including Louisa Fortescue's photograph albums spanning the years 1861 – 1875 and Dorothy Fortescue's at the end of the century. There are also drawings made by lady members of the family between 1833 and 1864. There is a large quantity of correspondence between the Harrowby (Ryder), Fortescue, Grenville, Bagot and Phillimore Families, under the reference HRO 115M88/C. Among these at HRO 115M88/C27 there is evidence of Anne's fondness for expensive jewellery. There are

letters between Grenville and Sir Charles Watkin Williams-Wynn, his nephew, in the British Library, however Harvey points to a much more complete collection of 484 letters in the Coed-y-Maen Papers. These are mostly political and begin in 1797.

Dorset Record Office includes references to the land owned by the Pitts in Dorset following the purchase of the Down estate by Governor Pitt. The Grenvilles appear to have seen their Dorset estate as being something of a pawn in their attempts to develop their estate at Dropmore and consolidate the value of Anne's reversion at Boconnoc.

English Heritage Archive and Photographic Library, Swindon, contains material, particularly from the twentieth-century, which is valuable to those interpreting the later development of the Boconnoc landscape.

Bibliographical works of assistance are A D Harvey's *Bibliography of Lord Grenville*[21] and Ray Desmond's *Bibliography of British Gardens*[22], as updated and available online as the *RHS Bibliography of British Gardens*. Many diaries and letters of this period have been published. The leading accounts are those of Farington[23] and Creevey neither of whom give Grenville much time.[24] However he had friends who wrote positively about him and Dropmore and among these were Samuel Rogers [25] who published an affectionate poem about Dropmore in 1831[26] and latterly Uvedale Price who makes much of correspondence between them debating various points, part of which appears to have been lost.[27] Lady Charlotte Williams Wynn who lived with her aunt and uncle at Dropmore as a child and gives short references to her memories of those years[28] Anne is also described by Vigée-Lebrun[29]. There are references to Grenville's early life and purchase of Dropmore in the Correspondence of Hester, Lady Chatham.[30] The Grenvilles are described by Lady Harriet Cavendish.[31]

Some of the perceptions of independent visitors to Dropmore such as Loudon[32], Prince Pückler-Muskau,[33] Lord Melville[34] and Queen Victoria[35] have been published. There is no comprehensive published account of Dropmore beyond local histories. However the Pinetum at Dropmore has attracted particular attention and is described by Mitchell, the most authoritative arborist of the twentieth-century[36]. There are many references to the Pinetum in Bean[37] and in Elwes and Henry[38]. The Boconnoc landscape has a pithy entry in Mowl's *Historic Gardens of Cornwall*[39]. Listing and Register entries held by English Heritage contain useful material. The leading work on the Wyatts is John Martin Robinson's 1979 study[40]. There appears to be no comparable study of the life of Charles Heathcote Tatham apart from his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The latter contains articles about all the principle players in the private life of the Grenvilles

The principal anecdotal accounts of Dropmore are those of Grote (1858) and E V Boyle (1900), both written well after the death of Grenville. Grote's account is marred by a vituperative attack on Anne's management of her estate, Boyle, a family friend of the Fortescues is subject to outbursts of romanticism. Neither give an objective account, however they are valuable where they record the writer's direct observations.

There are a number of local histories. For Dropmore there is, Le *Sueur's Guide to Burnham Beeches* (1955), and Packe who deposited his text for *Burnham's Prime Minister* (1986) and his working notes in The Buckinghamshire Study Centre. The most recent is by Burnham Historians (1996) *Dropmore and Littleworth*, which draws on Packe's work[41]. Recently, *Boconnoc,* a wide ranging and well referenced book about the history of Boconnoc House and the families who have occupied it since the earliest times, has been published by Lorigan.[42] This makes only brief references to the development of the landscape. There is a research report of the Cornwall Garden Society (2004)[43]

Magazine references to Dropmore during the Grenville/Fortescue years are more extensive than those for Boconnoc, largely because of interest in its gardens and pinetum rather than the wider landscape. The improvements, and tree planting, including the growing collection of conifers had been drawn to the attention of the wider public by the Lysons as early at 1813.[44] There followed in 1818, a short of description the flower gardens by Neale[45] and then, between 1822 and 1938, articles in *Akerman's Repository of Arts, the Gardeners Magazine, the Gardeners' Chronicle, Country Life, the Florist, Cottage Gardens, the Journal of Horticulture, Gardening World and the Gardens of England.* There is only one brief magazine notice about Boconnoc in 1837 and a short mention by Britton and Brayley in 1808 otherwise there are none until the 21st Century when the restoration of Boconnoc was covered in *Country Life* and two articles appeared in *The Cornish Garden*.

Of unpublished Secondary Materials there are two relevant Master's dissertations, apart from the author's own work 'The Search for Elysium'[46]. Troup on Anne Grenville as a horticulturist[47], Vernon in a comprehensive account of the 1st Lord Camelford and taste.[48]

A number of reports have been produced for planning and agri-environment schemes and for private purposes. Those for Dropmore have been most intensive, driven by the need for repeated applications for planning permission following the disastrous fires of 1990 and 1997 which together effectively destroyed the House and accelerated the deterioration of the landscape. These reports are public documents and are reported on the planning database of South Oxfordshire District Council. The most useful of these are the Heritage Statement by Giles Quarme & Associates[49] and the Historic Landscape Masterplan by Colson Stone

Practice, in 2013[50], which can be regarded as models of their kind. A Pinetum Management Plan by Patrick Stileman was submitted in 2014[51]. Each of these provide accurate descriptions of the physical state of Dropmore before restoration was proposed in 2013 and make references to some of the primary materials relating to its earlier history.

At Boconnoc agri-environment and bio-sanitary schemes have led landscape analysis. An unpublished report by Askew Nelson commissioned by a tenant in 2014 opened the way for the funding of significant landscape enhancement at the Home Farm, Boconnoc under the Higher Level Stewardship Scheme.[52] This provides useful references to primary materials, however some of the conclusions have been questioned. There are also two short reports by William Trinnick in 2016 on the Ha-Ha to the north of the Lawns and the Walled Garden. Copies of all these are kept in the Boconnoc Estate Office. The widespread removal of *R. ponticum,* under a Forestry Commission Scheme has allowed significant restoration of historic planting on Braddock Down. A report on the history of that part of the landscape was produced for the Estate, by the author, and is lodged in the Cornwall Record Office at CRO AD 2531- 2531/2.

This thesis examines the role of Grenville and Anne in landscape improvement against prevailing currents of philosophical discussion. In the *Philosophy of the Human Mind* Dugald Stewart effectively summarised the development of ideas through the eighteenth-century in general, including those of John Locke (1632-1704) and Joseph Addison (1672-1719), and Grenville relied on it when writing *Dropmore*. [53] It has not been necessary for the purpose of this thesis to examine his sources in detail. Because of the importance of the theory of association to Grenville, mention of Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* should be made. Alison's talent lay in identifying practical examples of the importance of association explaining why some people liked bagpipes and others did not.[54] Hogarth claimed that lines of beauty and of grace gave rise to pleasing effects for the viewer, independent of any question of taste.[55] Seen in the light of the way the Grenvilles laid out the edges of plantations this proposition is of relevance to the subject of this thesis, even if that phenomenon is not yet fully understood.

Garden historians have identified the principal counter-weight to the dominance of the 'Brownian' Style at the end of the eighteenth-century as being the 'Picturesque'. Works dealing with that question are so extensive that it would be unhelpful to include them in this review. Any reader will have their own preferred *vade mecum* to English Landscape History. It will be suggested in this thesis that the influence of the picturesque movement, such as it was, never gave rise to an identifiable style, and had relatively little influence on the Grenvilles.

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Introduction

So that the reader has a clear idea of the nature of the man before reading the topic-based chapters of the thesis, the key features of William Wyndham Grenville's character are described, It was in landscape gardening and in his library that he found relief from the toils of public office. He was to be reported as saying; 'I can hardly keep wondering at my own folly in thinking it worthwhile to leave my books and garden, even for one day's attendance in the House of Commons'.[1] However, he persevered, first in the Commons, then in the House of Lords, to which he was swiftly elevated to manage matters in the upper house for Pitt. Unlike his relations by marriage William Pitt, Lord Chatham (1708-1778) and William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806), he had no great love of politics for its own sake. His vocation was in the impersonal exercise of the mechanics of government rather than the pursuit of power.[2]

It is illustrative of the way that Grenville operated under the radar of public consciousness, and therefore of history, that he only rated two brief mentions by name in Christopher Hibbert's biography of King George III (1738-1820, r. 1760) during whose reign he had made such a significant contribution to government.[3] He became Prime Minister in 1806 only to hold the ring to keep constitutional government together at a point when politics was in disarray. He found the office an uncomfortable one.[4] A year later he resigned when he refused to give George III an assurance that he would not bring forward legislation for Catholic emancipation. Although he continued in Parliament as the effective leader of the Opposition until 1817, he then shut the door on further participation in party politics, writing to his nephew Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839) 'I have taken the irrevocable determination of here closing the scene…. feeling that it implies of necessity a total abstinence from all pretensions to lead, from all duty to follow, from all political intrigue, and all party connection.'[5] However, he continued as an independent parliamentarian showing a special interest in economic questions and slavery making his last speech 1822, appropriately, in relation to the Catholic question.[6] He contributed to public affairs through his writing until publishing his Essays on the supposed advantages of the Sinking Fund in 1828.[7]

Grenville's modest appreciation of his own talents is illustrated by his correspondence with his brother George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, 1st Marquess of Buckingham (1753-1813), when Pitt thought he might appoint Grenville to the Admiralty in 1788 at the age of 29;

> The situation would unquestionably have been highly flattering to me at my time of life ... But ... I think it is not prudent for a person who has already been put forward beyond

> what many people think his pretensions entitle him to and who has still much way to make for himself, to incur the risk of shocking and revolting the feelings of almost everyone.[8]

However, in 1790, at the age of 31 he was elevated to the Peerage and then in 1791 appointed, to the post of Foreign Secretary, a positiont he was to hold for 10 years.

He had the misfortune to have a very large head and a very large behind, something James Gillray (1756-1815) was to pounce on as soon as he began to include Grenville in his cartoons. In addition, he was obliged to wear spectacles and, before his marriage, he was usually to be seen wearing dishevelled clothes.[9] Had the word 'nerd' any meaning in the eighteenth-century he could , in his early political years, have been suggested as its living embodiment. This gave rise to his nickname of Bogy or Bogey coined in the 1784 Parliament, and followed up in the lines adapted from the *Rolliad* the satirical poem lampooning Pitt's first administration, which accompanied Gillray's cartoon, 'A keen sighted politician warming his imagination' of 1795, quoted by Jupp.[10] (fig.1)

Figure 1; 'A keen sighted politician warming his imagination.' James Gillray. 1795. © National Portrait Gallery.

Like most cartoonists having picked on a physical characteristic he would play on it in the many images he made during Grenville's career, [11] backing this up with such jibes as 'a broad-bottomed government' about the 'Talents' Ministry. Even after he left Government Gillray would not let this go and used it in an unjust satire on Grenville's support for Catholic emancipation when Chancellor of Oxford University, (fig.2).

Figure 2; 'The Introduction of the Pope to the University of Oxford by Cardinal Broad Bottom'. James Gillray, 1809. © National Portrait Gallery.

His speaking style was ponderous. In this he followed his father George Grenville, Lord Grenville (1712-1770), of whom it was said that he was 'to a proverb tedious' and the King said he would rather have the Devil as a visitor rather than be forced to listen to George Grenville.[12] Camelford records 'Foreign ministers complained of his [Lord Grenville's] prolixity which they call'd among themselves Grenvilisé'.[13] On Grenville's appointment as Speaker, Nathaniel Wraxall (1751-1831) noted his cold and formal address and thought it was unlikely that the House would warm to him. He foresaw that his 'ponderous physical formation' would become the victim of the cartoonist in the absence of any outstanding political characteristic that might be better satirised.[14]

There was no doubting Grenville's intelligence, diligence or ability and there is grudging respect for that in the *Rolliad* poem. He did have a 'plenteous store of knowledge' and he was the kind of man who was able, through good administration, to 'secure the State'. On his leaving office with Pitt in 1801 Lady Malmesbury (1761-1830) wrote 'Everybody seems much alarmed at the loss of Bogy'.[15] Of Grenville's performance in the House of Lords it was said that others who might have spoken in debates were deterred by the knowledge that Grenville would have command of all the facts relating to an issue and could deploy them to devastating effect.[16]

In telling Pitt, 'I had always rather follow than lead',[17] Grenville can be seen to be indicating that he would prefer to leave it to others to gather together the reins of power and content himself with making the governments which followed as effective as possible; not that he would follow others in face of his better judgement. That task, for which Grenville's undemonstrative character made him ideally suited included, save for the clash over the

Catholic question, moderating the conflicts between George III and his ministers. The constitutional settlement between King and Parliament remained incomplete despite the century which had passed between the Bill of Rights of 1689 and the periods in which Grenville held ministerial office. George III would rage against Chatham, Pitt and Fox but saw Grenville as being reliable.[18] Shunning power itself he lacked that aphrodisiac which fires the public imagination and secures politicians a place in history, no matter how much harm they may have done to the populations they govern. Jupp summed up Grenville's achievements in this way;

> Grenville had a considerable and sometimes critical influence on British political history for some thirty-five years, longer in fact than each of the more famous politicians with whom he was associated - Pitt, Fox, and Grey. Part of that influence arose from measures for which he was wholly or chiefly responsible... Grenville's strengths lay in a brilliant intellect, an ability to spot the connections between different spheres of policy, and reasoned arguments in favour of specific policies.[19]

But Tresham Lever (1900-1974) was to write, only a century or so after his death;

> …this cold, heavy, formal, calculating man has suffered a like fate to his father, for whereas in his lifetime he occupied a considerable place on the public stage, today he is forgotten; he has dropped out of history from the sheer lack of that warm humanity that enables a man to live long after his body has mouldered in the grave.[20]

It is evident that there was a considerable contrast between the austere personality of Grenville when conducting public business or being thrust into fashionable drawing rooms, such as at Holland House,[21] and his gentle warmth in the company of family and close friends. On his resignation as Prime Minister he was to write. 'The deed is done and I am again a free man, and to you I may express what it would seem like affection to say to others, the infinite pleasure I derive from emancipation'.[22]

Grenville's father-in-law, Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford (1737-1793), in writing *Family Characters and Anecdotes* for the benefit of his son Thomas Pitt (1775-1804) wrote 'Somebody says we should have two lives, the one only as an experiment that we might know how to make the most of the other'. [23] In essence, Grenville did live two contrasting lives; that in politics leading him to make the most the other in the landscape. The first within the strict confines of established precedents, the second, unconfined by the conventions and fashions of the time.

Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849) the Anglo-Irish writer gave her mother a second-hand account of Grenville's behaviour at home in 1822;

> [Mr Abercromby - Lord Dunfermline]. .. entertained us … with anecdotes of … Lord Grenville, with whom he has been staying at Dropmore. He said that when he first went there and heard there was no company in the house, he was frightened out of his wits at the idea of a *tete a tete* with silent Lord Grenville; but to his astonishment, he found him the the most communicative and talkative of men; he had only to ask him what he pleased to set him off delightfully, like the Primate; those who can venture to talk to him freely, please him, and conquer his constitutional bashfulness. At breakfast he has three or four spaniels jumping upon him, he feeding, and protecting the newspaper, which he is reading all the time, from them. He is remarkably fond of children. Mr. Abercromby saw him with two little boys, sons of a friend, and all the morning he was diverting them in the library hunting for entertaining books and pictures for them. Such a new idea of Lord Grenville.[24]

A drawing of him by his niece Lady Charlotte Proby (1788-1860) suggests a genial kindness in private, in sharp contrasts with the austere image in official portraits. (fig.3)

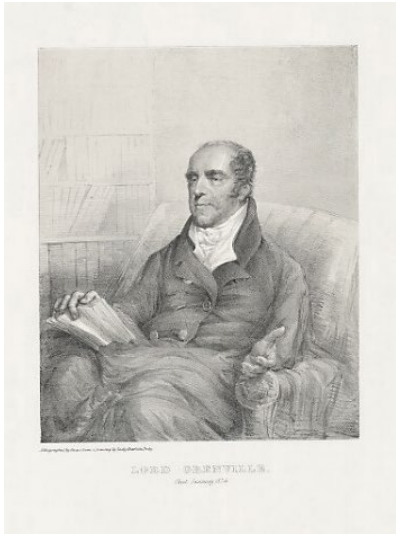

Figure 3; Sketch of Grenville by his niece Lady Charlotte Proby published as a lithograph by Maxim Gauci in 1834. © National Portrait Gallery.

Lady 'Harriet' Cavendish, Countess Granville (1785-1862) who picked up on Grenville's unprepossessing appearance when visiting Dropmore was to write;

> Lord Grenville … looks like a fool, but his conversation immediately destroys that first impression and is remarkably sensible. Lady Grenville is very pretty, at least as Tournure than anybody I ever saw and the nicest little round head and small features. She looks like his grand-daughter, but I hear she is the best wife in the world and that he has the highest opinion of her understanding and judgment.[25]

Rev Edward Copleston (1776-1849), Provost of Oriel College, Oxford and later Bishop of Llandaff told his father, following a visit to Dropmore;

> There was an agreeable party within, the house very warm, containing every luxury that furniture can supply, and what with billiards and books, the time was filled up as pleasantly as one could desire. Lord Grenville I have always found friendly and amiable in his behaviour, very unassuming, and though not affable, from wanting a

> turn for conversation, yet conversing with frankness and simplicity where he had reason to place confidence.[26]

Copleston had been one of his champions in the contest for Chancellorship of the University 1809, the only time Grenville ever faced a real election or showed a keen competitive instinct. Again, writing to his father, he shed another light on Grenville's character; 'Lord Grenville is, I believe, among our public men, most firmly attached to the church from a sense of religion...'[27] That religious commitment informed his respect for the natural world as is evident from his poem 'Birthday Oak' in 1831.[28] (fig.4)

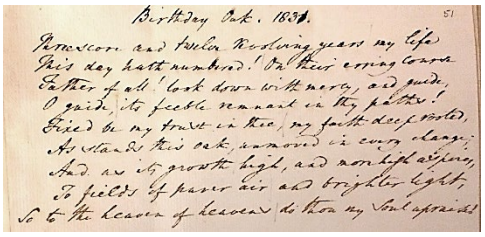
Birthday Oak. 1831. 51
Threescore and twelve revolving years my life
This day hath numbered! On their erring course
Father of all! look down with mercy, and guide,
O guide, its feeble remnant in thy paths!
Fixed be my trust in thee, my faith deep rooted,
As stands this oak, unmoved in every change;
And as its growth high, and more high aspires,
To fields of purer air and brighter light,
So to the heaven of heavens do thou my Soul upraise!

Figure 4; The poem 'Birthday Oak', 1831 in Grenville's hand. BL Add MS 59439 f.51 © The British Library.

Threescore and twelve revolving years my life
This day hath numbered! On their erring course
Father of all! look down with mercy, and guide,
Oh guide, its feeble remnant in thy paths!
Fixed be my trust in thee, my faith deep rooted,
As stands this oak, unmoved in every change;
And as its growth high, and more high aspires,
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So to the heaven of heavens do thou my Soul upraise!

Gilbert Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound 1st Earl Minto (1751-1814) visited Dropmore on at least three occasions. His accounts illustrate the contrast between Grenville's performance in public and his private life. In 1801;

> I found them a most comfortable couple, Lady Grenville very pleasing, and seemingly very happy.

In 1802;

> Nothing can be pleasanter than the Grenville family at home. Lady Grenville is beautiful and nice and pleasant in all ways… and Lord Grenville is entirely different in his family from the notion which his general manners have perhaps naturally given of him to the world.

And in 1805;

> ...as I have said before, there never was a more gallant or attentive husband; and to all appearances, a better natured, as well as tempered one. We walked after dinner to his farm, where he patted and poored an old horse which they are keeping alive by mashes

> and care, a full quarter of an hour. This was an old horse he had been used to ride himself in his youth; but he went half the length of a field out of the way to do the same by an old cart horse. I mention these traits only because they are very unlike the notion which is generally entertained of his character.[29]

In 1813, it was the turn of Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), sometime Recorder of Bombay, to make a visit on his return from service in India;

> Lord Grenville, whom I had never seen before, was a considerable object of curiosity and interest to me: he has the cold manners and retired character and habits of his family; he begins no conversation, but very easily enters into any discussion that arises; he has a very strong understanding without genius, much positive knowledge in all the branches and dependencies of politics, and his private studies in Greek and botany, in both of which he is proficient; he is a very fair reasoner; and he seems to me to look on public matters very honestly, and those who have had the opportunity of knowing, say that it is very satisfactory to do business with him; his politics are very whiggish, and he gave me valuable information about modern English history, in which he is, beyond most men, conversant…… Lady Grenville is a charming woman, sensible, well informed, unaffected, and though evidently of a cheerful or even gay character, living most contentedly in retirement, or rather seclusion, with her husband to whom she is tenderly attached. They live in such solitude, that they have an apprehension of a stranger and were quite thankful to Lord Lansdown and Horner for coming to secure them against a Scottish philosopher, who had been sojourning in the uttermost corners of the earth.[30]

Samuel Rogers (1763 – 1855), visiting in 1824, gave a similar account of the contrasting characters of Grenville and Anne:

> …we got to Dropmore in time enough for a short walk before dinner, which, instead of that absurd fashionable hour of seven, which cuts off the most delightful part of the whole day, was at five, and after coffee, the weather being exactly what one could wish it, set out on our walk. To me, who am not less fond of highly ornamented than of wild picturesque scenery, the whole garden was extremely interesting, and my pleasure was enhanced (many a time have I found it otherwise) by looking it over with the proprietors. Lady Grenville seems as fond of everything as her lord, and from the observations she occasionally made appeared to me to have very just feeling and discrimination. There is an amusing contrast in their manners: his remarkably placid and calm, though far from cold; hers as strikingly eager.[31]

Whatever the public perception of the Grenvilles, they were devoted to each other, gentle with their friends and passionate in their love of landscapes, plants and animals.

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[1] Brack, Duncan, *The Dictionary of Liberal Quotations* (London: Methuen, 1999). Cited in Dermot J T Englefield, Janet Seaton, et al., *Facts About British Prime Ministers* (New York: H W Wilson, 1995).

[2] An insight into the importance of Grenville's steady administrative skills for Pitt and Dundas is illustrated by an apocryphal account of their drinking habits; 'Stothard the painter happened to be one evening at an inn on the Kent Road, when Pitt and Dundas put up there on the way from Walmer. Next morning, as they were stepping into their carriage, the waiter said to Stothard "Sir, do you observed these two gentlemen?" - "Yes", he replied, "And I know them to be Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas"- "Well sir, how much wine do you suppose they drank last

night?" - Stothard could not guess- "Seven bottles, sir" '. Samuel Rogers, *Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers* (New York: D Appleton and Co, 1856), 109.
[3] Hibbert, Christopher, *George III, a Personal History* (London: Penguin 1999).
[4] Buckingham and Chandos, Duke of, *Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets of George III* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855). Vol. iv, 132-3: Grenville to his brother, Buckingham; 'I want one great and essential quality for my station [as Prime Minister], and every hour increases the difficulty….I am not competent to the management of men. I was never so naturally, and toil and anxiety more and more unfit me for it'. Cited at Peter Jupp, *Lord Grenville; 1759 - 1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 409.
[5] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 453.
[6] Ibid., 458.
[7] Ibid., 462.
[8] http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/grenville-william-wyndham-1759-1834 [accessed 5.4.2017].
[9]On his marriage Grenville's appearance was considerably improved by Anne. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol II* (London: 1894), 324. The Earl of Mornington to Grenville, 24 October 1792, Ramsgate; 'I cannot tell you with how much pleasure I saw your *menage*. I told Pitt that matrimony had made three very important changes in you, which could not but affect your old friends. 1st, a brown lappelled coat instead of the eternal blue single breasted; 2nd, strings in your shoes; 3rd, very good perfume in your hair powder. All the rest remained the same, particularly quiz drawing, which Lady Grenville seemed to be studying with great attention.'
[10] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 103.

> 'Lord Bogy boasts no common share of head;
> What plenteous store of knowledge may contain
> The spacious tenement of Bogy's brain.
> Nature in all her dispensations wise,
> Who form'd his head-piece of so vast a size,
> Hath not, 'tis true, neglected to bestow
> Its due proportions on the part below;
> And hence the reason, that to secure the State
> His top and bottom, may have equal weight.

[11] 53 of these are held by the National Portrait Gallery.
[12] Hibbert, *George III*, 107.
[13] BL Add 69333, Camelford Family Characters and Anecdotes 1781. f. 68.
[14] Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs of His Own Time*, 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1836), Vol. 1, 277-8; Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 82, 103.
[15] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 293, Lady Malmesbury to Lady Minto, 8 February 1801.
[16] McCahill, Michael W., *The House of Lords in the Age of George III (1760 - 1811)* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 237: ' Lord Auckland observed 'It is impossible to debate without debaters and when a Man speaks as free from fear of Contradiction as the Parson in the Pulpit, the Speech resembles a Sermon & has pretty much the same effect on the hearers'.
[17] Grenville to Pitt the Younger. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol I* (London: 1892), 194; Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 38.
[18] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol II*., 462: George III to Grenville 31 October 1794, Whitehall. (On Grenville being too ill to deal with public business);

> 'As Lord Grenville's note contains only his excuse for not having transmitted at the usual hour this morning the proposed draft of the marriage treaty, I should not have answered it, but that I wish to convey that I am at all times so certain of the diligence and exactness of Lord Grenville that I could not have imputed any neglect to him if I had not received his attentive explanation'.

[19] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Grenville, William Wyndham, Baron Grenville."
[20] Lever, Sir Tresham, *The House of Pitt* (London: Murray, 1947), 218.
[21] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 420.
[22] Reported at https://www.gov.uk/government/history/past-prime-ministers/william-wyndham-grenville-1st-baron-grenville [Accessed 6.4.2017].
[23] Pitt, Thomas, 1st Lord Camelford, Family Characters and Anecdotes, 1781, BL Add MS 69333, Dropmore Papers. f.1.
[24] Edgeworth, Maria, *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, vol. II (London: J. Masters, 1867), January 14th 1822.
[25] Cavendish, Lady Harriet, *Hary-O: The Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish* (London: Murray, 1940). Cited at Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Half-Mad Lord, Thomas Pitt 2nd Baron Camelford* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978), 69.
[26] Copleston, William, *Memoir of Edward Copleston* (London: Parker, 1851), 48.

[27] Ibid., 26.
[28] BL Add MS 59439, f.51
[29] Minto, Countess of, ed., *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto* (London: Longmans, Green, 1874), Vol III, 229, 252-3, 357. Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 295.
[30] Mackintosh, R.J., *Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Mackintosh* (Boston: Little Brown, 1853), Vol II, 261; Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 417.
[31] Clayden, Peter William, *Samuel Rogers and His Contemporaries* (London: Smith, Elder, 1889), 382.

Chapter 1. The Scion of a Political Dynasty and an Heiress

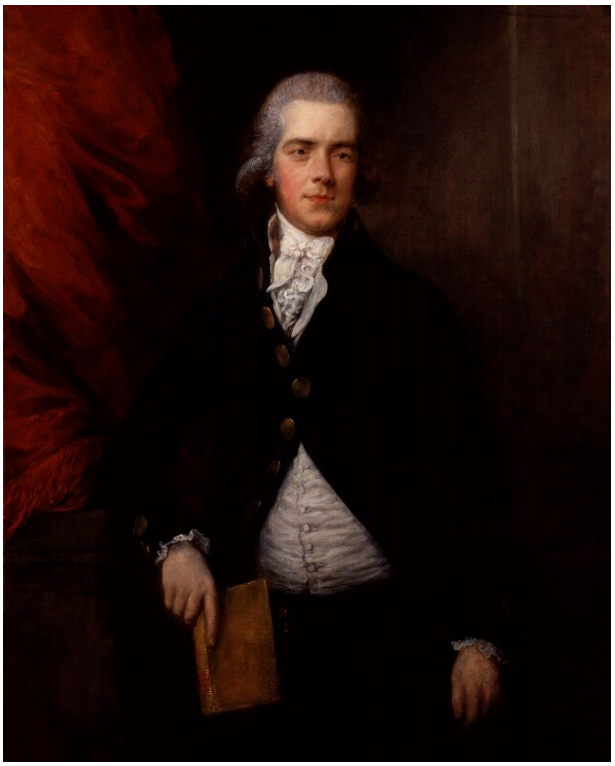

Figure 5; William Wyndham Grenville. Gainsborough Dupont c 1790 NPG

Although now largely forgotten, Grenville, Prime Minister in the 'Ministry of Talents' (1806-7),[1] was a pivotal figure in British political and academic life in his times. (fig. 5) He was orphaned in 1770 at the age of 11, in his second year at Eton to which he had followed his father and his two brothers. Born into a family of wealth and position, as the youngest of three surviving brothers, he could count on neither advantage unless he was able to carve out his own place in national life and create a seat of his own. He had seen how his father, Lord Grenville, even as Prime Minister, was a mere tenant of Wotton Underwood, Buckinghamshire. Wotton was owned by Grenville's uncle, Richard Grenville-Temple, 2nd Earl Temple (1711-1779), who had inherited Stowe from his uncle, Field Marshal Sir Richard Temple, first Viscount Cobham (1675-1749), Grenville's great uncle. The financial strain the family was under must have been obvious even to a child. He would also have been aware of the family's hurt at his father's estrangement from Grenville's aunt, Hester Grenville, Lady Chatham (1720-1803), due to Lord Grenville's political disagreements with Chatham.[2] Nonetheless, he seems to have enjoyed a happy childhood at Wotton, under the eye of a devout, loving, and well-connected mother, Elizabeth Wyndham, Lady Grenville (ante 1713–1769). Although his father was known as being aloof in public office, 'talented but tactless; respected but unloved',[3] particularly in the eyes of George III, he appears to have been

affectionate to his children and, as Jupp suggests, had a great influence on Grenville's future political style.[4]

When his father died in 1770 leaving Grenville in the guardianship of his uncle Earl Temple, at Stowe, and exposed to the mixed blessing of having his eldest brother George later 3rd Earl Temple and 1st Marquess of Buckingham 6 years his senior as head of his immediate family the fear of dependency began to grow on Grenville. His relationship with this brother would remain dutiful throughout his life, as would his affection for Stowe, but it was strained to near breaking point when Grenville, having become much more influential politically than his brother, found himself standing between George III and his brother on the question of Buckingham's unrealistic insistence that he should be granted a Dukedom.[5] (fig. 6)

Figure 6; The Marquis of Buckingham, as he liked to be seen. Sherwin, after Thomas Gainsborough 1788. © Private Collection.

It must have been with feeling that Grenville wrote, as he came of age on his twenty-first birthday, to Scrope Bernard (1758-1830) another younger son, and one of his closest Oxford friends, that 'dependence was the greatest curse in nature'. He was fired with an idea adopted from his great uncle Lord Cobham that there was 'nothing within the compass of a reasonable man's wish which he may not be sure of attaining provided he will use the proper means.' That included in Grenville's mind, as he told Bernard, 'carrying off a rich heiress', something he knew would be easier said than done. [6]

In his early years Grenville was noted to have a nimble mind and a tireless grasp of detail. At Oxford he excelled at mathematics and won the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse in 1779. Although he was a member of Goosetree's Club, then the haunt of bright young things, he was not by inclination a 'club man' and was known more for 'an acceptable if undemonstrative amiability' and close friendships.[7] He, again following his father, read for the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, but unlike him, was never called. As he had no pretension to being a wit or of having the silver tongue of a Pitt, he found the convivial atmosphere of the Inns of Court irksome. In the event he bowed to *real-politik* and found his future through his brother's patronage and accompanied him to Ireland as his Chief Secretary when, as 3rd Earl Temple, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy, in 1782. In that same year he again accepted Buckingham's patronage by taking up, at the age of 22, the offer of becoming one of the members of Parliament for the 'family' borough of Buckingham.

It was in Ireland that his administrative skills behind a desk, and his gift for diplomacy came to the attention of his first cousin Pitt. When he was returned again for Buckingham in the General Election of 1784 he was brought into Pitt's first administration which was to last until 1801. In those 17 years, Grenville was to progress through the offices of Paymaster to the Forces, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Speaker of the House of Commons, Home Secretary, and then, after his appointment to the Lords, to be Foreign Secretary from 1792 – 1801. In addition he was appointed to the sinecure of the Auditorship of the Exchequer which he held from 1794 until the end of his life. He was,with Pitt and Dundas, one of the triumvirate that effectively ruled England under King George III during that period. [8] He went on to become Prime Minister in 1806-1807, Leader of the Opposition from 1807 to 1817 and Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1809 to his death.

Through his elevation to the Lords in 1791 on his own merit, but largely because Pitt needed his skills in the Upper House, he had freed himself from the immediate political grip of his eldest brother, but he still needed, as he had earlier foreseen in his correspondence with Scrope Bernard, to find an heiress, and the means to establish a country seat of his own. It is a notable mark of Grenville's humility that he never sought further advancement in the peerage despite his good relationship with George III. Lesser men had left office as a Viscount or even as an Earl, as did, largely thanks to him, two of his brothers-in-law, Hugh Fortescue and John Proby, the First Earls Fortescue and Carysfort respectively. There is perhaps little doubt that he would have extended some sort of preferment to the third, Richard Griffin (born Neville-Aldworth) Lord Braybrooke, (1750-1825), if the latter had not come into that barony and Audley End with it by inheritance from a great-uncle

A United Family

The history of made landscapes is full of examples of one generation destroying the work of their forebears in order to impose their own personality on their times. That progression can be seen even at Stowe where the lingering traces of the original design by Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738) for Lord Cobham, are now barely visible, the ha ha and bastions apart. By way of contrast, at Boconnoc and Dropmore, when setting out or managing plantations each generation from 1760 has followed a consistent pattern of giving respect for nature a central place in landscape improvement and taking advantage of the creative value of natural forces. The reasons for this are to be found in the very close personal relationships between the principal actors. The starting point was Camelford's relationship with Lord Grenville.

Figure 7; Thomas Pitt, 1st Lord Camelford. English School (Attributed to Carl von Breda 1759-1818– Sotheby). © Private Collection.

In 1763 Lord Grenville had appointed Camelford, at the early age of 26, to be a Lord of the Admiralty. (fig. 7) At that stage Camelford was being advanced, as much as anything, through the influence of Chatham. However, that relationship soon soured and it was to Lord Grenville that he then attached himself politically. That brought him frequently to Wotton where Lord Grenville was spending money beautifying the place at his own expense even though it belonged to his eldest brother, Richard.[9] Lord Grenville visited Camelford at Boconnoc in 1767 and wrote that 'Our landlord here has made this place which in itself has many great Beauties from the finest vallies filled with old timber and little Rivulets... still more agreeable.'[10] At Wotton and in Parliament Camelford would also have spent a good deal of time with Thomas Whately (1726-1772), often regarded as Grenville's political amanuensis, Secretary to the Treasury in his administration, and, today most widely known for his seminal book *Observations*

on Modern Gardening.[11] Phibbs suggests that Whately was 'Brown's most profound critic, contemporary and admirer'.[12] Lancelot Brown (1716-1783) had worked at Wotton, although perhaps under the eye of Chatham,[13] but Camelford would not follow the style of either. He may well have learned the pleasure of improving landscape from their work just as he was to learn a great deal about political skill from Lord Grenville, but he was, in both fields, determined to be his own man.[14]

When Lord Grenville fell ill in the Autumn of 1769, Camelford 'attended his bedside every day as he grew weaker & weaker & and was almost the last person he spoke to, 'having desired to see me to explain some circumstances with regard to his Will which had been misunderstood, but which he was not then enough master of himself to express with accuracy'.[15]

It was that friendship which settled the close relationships some of the succeeding generations would have. Lord Grenville was the father of Grenville, Camelford the father of Anne, and their children became a devoted and complementary couple both in their social and horticultural lives with an astonishing unanimity of taste. George Matthew Fortescue (1791-1877), who became their heir and who attended Grenville on his deathbed, was the second son of Grenville's favourite sister Hester who married the 1st Lord Fortescue of Castle Hill. He would later run Boconnoc on Anne's behalf from 1834 until her death in 1864. From as early as 1806, when he would have been about fifteen, and still at Eton, he was involved with his uncle and aunt's passion for landscape, writing to Anne, 'I hope the plantations that we traced out last year at Boconnoc are going on well. I am extremely sorry that I have not been there this year to see them. With kind love to my Uncle'.[16]

Figure 8; Left, George Matthew Fortescue. Frederick Christian Lewis Sr, after Joseph Slater © National Portrait Gallery. Right, Lady Louisa Ryder, Henry Graves. © Private Collection.

In 1833 he married Louisa Ryder (1813-1899), a daughter of Dudley Ryder, 1st Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847) and sister of his brother's late wife. (fig. 8) The closeness of that marriage and that of their relationship with Anne and Camelford is evidenced by the letters that passed between them all. Anne wrote to Fortescue on their marriage in 1833 'I delight in picturing to myself your happiness. I do not care if I lie awake I have now always a pleasant subject to dwell upon.'[17] Just as Camelford had been at Wotton with Lord Grenville in his last hours, Fortescue was at Dropmore when Grenville died, and was one of the very few present at his funeral in Burnham. On her orders only Anne, his brother Thomas Grenville (1755-1846) and Frances Proby (1789-1855), his niece, were otherwise in attendance. Fortescue continued to do everything he could to help Anne until her death and they were in regular contact about the management of both Boconnoc and Dropmore although he respected the fact that Anne was very much in charge. However, in June 1853, when Fortescue was slowly recovering from one of his recurring bouts of illness and was concerned about how he would cover his personal outgoings at Boconnoc, Anne wrote to him, effectively confirming his position as her heir, as he was to become in 1864;

> You will easily believe the great satisfaction it would give me to be enabled to put you entirely at your ease. And as matters mend in Cornwall, if my life should be prolonged, I hope this may be the case. I am especially anxious that in your present state of health you should spare yourself <u>all worries</u> & therefore trust to the improvement you hope for. So much of my income goes for interest & the expenses at Dropmore are so large , & the repairs required there so fast increasing that I feel unable to say anything definite. But I have no doubt we shall make a satisfactory arrangement and I will do my utmost to bring it about.[18]

Because of these relationships with the Grenvilles, and having managed Boconnoc for Anne for many decades, it is little surprise that Fortescue would thereafter keep up the same pattern of management and approach to improvement.

It will be seen in this chapter that the associations which Grenville and Anne would bring to bear on landscape improvement were moulded from childhood by direct experience of an extraordinary range of cultural genres. Any summary of their family and associates shows how closely interwoven were their relationships, the extent of the important landscapes they improved, and the pervading influence of Lancelot Brown in the many of those properties. The gardens in which there is a high probability that Brown was involved in some way are marked by an asterisk* in the remaining text of this Chapter.[19]

William Grenville

The young Grenville was nurtured at Wotton* and Stowe*, (fig. 9) and Eton and Christ Church Oxford.

Figure 9; Grenville's early homes: Left Wotton, Right Stowe, © Author.

As a toddler Grenville would have seen the improvements at Wotton* by his father, assisted by Sanderson Miller (1716-1780), Brown and almost certainly Chatham, when fresh and at their most impressive.[20] Building was something that ran in the Grenville blood. Two decades later describing the return of Hester, wife of Lord Fortescue (1767-1847) from Stowe* to Castle Hill with her children (among them Fortescue) in June 1787, Buckingham's wife Mary wrote to Lady Camelford (1738–1803) of how they were 'living in the midst of builders in true Grenville style up to their ears in mortar.'[21] John Soane (1753–1837), the architect, had advised on alterations there earlier in the year. [22] (fig. 10)

Figure 10; Castle Hill, Devon in 1832. Engraving by Thomas Allom for John Britton. Devon and Cornwall Illustrated. © Fortescue.org

Grenville's maternal relations included brother Charles Wyndham (1710-1763), who became 2nd Earl of Egremont in 1750 and inherited Petworth* in Sussex. Her father, Sir William Wyndham (1688-1740), of Orchard Wyndham, near Watchet in Somerset, the third baronet, who to say the least had a colourful life,[23] was a founding Governor of the Foundling Hospital a fashionable charity which brought him in touch with many of the most cultivated people of the day including George Frederick Handel (1685-1759) and William Hogarth (1697-1764). It is easy to pass over his life in the landscape as inconsequential, but in his time a 'Wilderness' was laid out in Blackdown Wood, not on the formal lines of earlier contemplative groves, but with sinuous paths in the style of Stephen Switzer (1682-1745). John Gay (1685-1732), the dramatist, wrote to Alexander Pope (1688-1744) in 1732 'Sir William Wyndham is at present amusing himself with some real improvements and a great many visionary castles.'[24] (fig.11) Lady Grenville would have been 6 years old at the time and might have been drawn to that kind of informality, possibly passing on this sensitivity to Grenville before she died in 1769 just as he was beginning his time at Eton.

Figure 11; Orchard Wyndham, Somerset. 18th C. English School © National Trust

With the death of his father only a year later, the orphaned Grenville went in search of new 'Parents'. Grenville found security in the institutional embrace of Eton and then Oxford University each of which would prove a strong influence on him throughout his life and provide him with lasting friendships. Forty years later his morale was still being sustained by views to Eton from Dropmore and by his position as Chancellor of the University. The Grenville children had continuing encouragement from their parents' friend 'Mrs' Catherine Stapleton (1734-1815) at Wotton* and Stowe* as a friend and moral support until her death in 1815.[25] There was also plenty of material support from the family at Stowe*, but his eldest

brother Buckingham must have been a less than attractive sibling. In the words of an Etonian contemporary 'he suffered much from stammering, false pomp and pride, and he was obstinate and passionate', and duly got thrown out of the school in his senior year'.[26]

Grenville's education, and his life, nearly came to an abrupt end in June 1769, during his first term at Eton, still aged only 9. He was playing the sort of game only children could contrive, throwing a chunk of lead weighing nearly 4 lb up in the air and then trying to catch it. It fell on his head. His parents were too ill to come to Eton, so Whately came instead and sent back harrowing reports as Grenville's life hung in the balance. By his bedside was his brother Tom, ashen-faced.[27] Perhaps this was the moment that settled, once and for all, the very close affection the two brothers enjoyed for the rest of their lives. (fig. 12)

Figure 12; Left, William Grenville. Right, Tom Grenville, as grown men, both by John Hoppner. Early 19thc. © Private Collection

The anguish of Lord and Lady Grenville was revealed in a letter from him to his sister Hester Chatham on the 5th July after he was able to visit him;

> Dear Sister, ... Mrs Grenville and I feel very sensibly the affectionate concern which Lord Chatham and you have shown toward us upon the Occasion of the very alarming Accident which has happened to our youngest son. We had the Comfort of finding Him quite free from every Complaint except a little Weakness which must now necessarily follow what He has gone thro'... We flatter ourselves with the Blessing of God that we shall soon see Him perfectly re-established in every Respect.[28]

He did get through to become a model pupil. Catherine Stapleton wrote to Hester in October 1772 from Stowe;

> My Dear Lady Chatham, Your Letter made the Tour of Wales, where it at Last found your unworthy Correspondent, who Blushes to Confess she return'd here with two Companions, Elizabeth and William, more than Three Weeks ago, the later made the Whole expedition with great success on Horseback, which contributed not a little to His pleasure, and is at all times peculiarly beneficial to his Health.... We broke a Week

> into his returning to School, which Lord Temple was so good as to excuse and in reality Mr William deserves, not being extremely behind hand. He is not Thirteen Compleat and Saturday last sennight I should say went into the 5th Form.[29]

In 1773, his uncle 3rd Lord Temple wrote to Lady Chatham, 'The great William Grenville attended me...We had much Poetry in those parts, Prologue, Epilogue, chrinonhotontologos, [30] many complimentary verses but this great Man, almost 14 has in his first attempt at an ode beat them all...'[31]

On Grenvilles father's side there was his elder brother, 2nd Earl Temple at Stowe* which would be inherited by Grenville's eldest brother Buckingham. Stowe* had come to the Grenvilles through the childless marriage of Lord Cobham (1675-1749) and heiress Anne Halsey (d. 1760) leading Cobham to leave it to his favourite sister Hester (1690-1752). It was she who had married Richard Grenville, father of Lord Grenville, and thus Stowe descended to the Grenville family. Cobham's sister Christian Temple (1688-1748) married Sir Thomas Lyttelton (1686-1751): their children, including the illegitimate but much-loved Thomas Smith (1707-1762),[32] played an important part in the life of Camelford. They would become a surrogate family to their nephew, Camelford. George, 'the good' Lord Lyttelton, (1709-1773) creator of the landscape at Hagley, married Lucy Fortescue (1717-1746) of Castle Hill, Devon. Their daughter Christian Lyttelton (c.1710-1750), Camelford's mother, was disgracefully treated and cast aside by her husband Thomas Pitt. Her brothers came to Camelford's rescue and he regarded Sir Richard Lyttelton as his 'real parent'[33] (fig. 13) while also developing a close relationship with Charles Lyttelton (1714-1768) who became Bishop of Carlisle.

Figure 13; Sir Richard Lyttelton. Pompeo Batoni. 1761. © Private Collection.

At Hagley, Lord Lyttelton drew together some of the finest talent in the country each summer. The writers Alexander Pope, James Thompson (1700-1748), Henry Fielding (1707-1754) and William Shenstone (1714-1763) from The Leasowes nearby, would be joined by the amateur architects Camelford, John Pitt of Encombe (1706-1787) and Sanderson Miller from Radway. Chatham would sometimes join the party as would landowners like the 4th Earl Stamford (1715-1768) from Enville*, Staffordshire and 3rd Earl of Aylesford (1715-1777) from Packington*, Warwickshire. In sharp contrast to the rather formalised approach of Horace Walpole (1717-1797) and his 'Committee' at Strawberry Hill, who were directed at refining Walpole's own narrow view of taste,[34] Lyttelton encouraged his friends to experiment with and develop their own ideas. Thus, Hagley became one of the most eclectic of eighteenth-century landscapes. Camelford, who was constrained to the Gothick by Walpole in the Gallery at Strawberry Hill, was allowed to play with the Palladian in his Alcove at Hagley (fig. 129) looking up the cascades toward his cousin John Pitt's Rotunda.

Grenville's paternal aunt Hester married Chatham, a man who, apart from making himself a reputation as the 'Great Commoner', was known to be a keen landscape improver. He demonstrated these skills at the properties of relations and friends, such as that of Ralph Allen (1693-1764) at Prior Park*, Bath and Stowe*, Wotton*, Encombe in Dorset, and Stoke Park*, Buckinghamshire, as well as his own properties of South Lodge in Enville Chase, Hayes Place, Kent. and at Burton Pynsent* in Somerset.[35] Whilst Pitt may not have had the landscaping skills of his father and at Holwood, Bromley, lived more simply, he was, as will be seen, actively involved in the landscape there and engaged Humphry Repton (1752-1818) to improve it.

Three of Grenville's four sisters married into substantial estates. There is no evidence to suggest that any of these showed the same kind of intensive interest in landscape improvement as that which Grenville and Anne would later display. Charlotte (1754-1830) married Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1749-1789) and was to live at Wynnstay*, near Wrexham. Catherine (1762-1794) married Richard Neville, (1750-1825) who was to inherit Audley End*, Essex and the title Lord Braybrooke, but only after her death. Hester (1767-1847), the youngest and Grenville's favourite, married Hugh Fortescue, 1st Earl Fortescue (1753-1841) and so became the chatelaine of Castle Hill. Wynnstay* and Audley End* were both rather obvious examples of 'designed' landscapes. Castle Hill had a looser feel, despite some earlier professional intervention, but it can be seen from the Grenvilles correspondence [Appendix 2] how Lord Fortescue and his wife had to be prodded into making improvements by Tom. A fourth sister, Elizabeth (1756-1842) married John Joshua Proby, 1st Earl of Carysfort (1751-1828)

of Elton Hall, Cambridgeshire, a smaller property with, at that time, less well-developed grounds, Proby being more interested in literature than landscape. Grenville's 'fat nephew' Chandos,[36] after a clandestine courtship, married Lady Anne Elizabeth Brydges (1779-1836) daughter of the 3rd Duke of Chandos (of the first creation), so adding Avington Park, one of Hampshire's most beautiful estates, to his possessions and by Royal Warrant added yet two more hyphens to the family name, - Brydges and – Chandos.[37] Although Grenville's closest brother Tom never established himself in the country, preferring to preside over his magnificent collection of books in Charles Street, London, [38] he inherited the family passion for adapting landscapes. In 1813, for example, not only was he enjoying marking out places for the planting of trees at Boconnoc with Grenville, but also setting out vases and flower beds in the garden at Castle Hill.[39]

Grenville as a younger son never had the opportunity to go on the Grand Tour as such, but after leaving Oxford, plunged straight into the search for a career. However, as a classical scholar of some distinction he knew from his books, from the tales of his contemporaries who had undertaken the Tour, from the buildings they created in England honouring the classical architecture of Greece and Italy, and from the paintings they brought back and hung in their houses, a great deal about both ancient and modern Greek and Italian culture. Although he appears to have been fluent in French he only took one short holiday in France in 1785.[40] In 1787 on behalf of Pitt, he went on short, and hard pressed diplomatic missions to both The Hague and to Paris, when war was threatened in the Low Countries.[41] As Foreign Secretary between 1791 and 1801 there is no evidence of him travelling outside England. The reference therefore to the sights in Switzerland 'when I saw it' in the Journal of the 1801 *Tour to South Wales* [*see* Chapter 3 part 2] would seem to refer to Anne's experience not his own, but one she would almost certainly, have described to him [42].

As explained above, Camelford, was a close friend and colleague of Lord Grenville and Grenville would also have known him well from his visits to Stowe,* where Camelford continued to give advice to the 3rd Earl Temple on the South Front of the house until 1779, having previously designed the Corinthian Arch in 1765 for the 2nd Earl. Besides, they were both part of 'The Cousinhood'.[43]

Anne Pitt

Camelford had two children, Anne and her brother Thomas (1775-1804). Thomas, later the 2nd Lord Camelford, was a tough outdoor sort, dubbed by Lady Chatham at the age of two as 'the young Cornish Hercules'.[44] He had a remarkable, if curious, career as a boy

seaman and later naval officer, which has been well described by Tolstoy.[45] His relevance to this study is threefold. Firstly, his wild character left his father in despair and his mother distraught; this must likely have contributed to the formation of Anne's careful and caring nature. Secondly, during his short time at the school of M. de Meuron at Neuchâtel, in the Suisse Romande, he came to know of the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778),[46] and, like him, found solace on the Ile St Pierre, in the Lac de Bienne. When mortally wounded, Thomas asked to be buried under three oak trees adjoining the small pavilion on the island.[47] The works of Rousseau are certain to have been read by Camelford, who chose the school at Neuchâtel, and he may well have visited the island with his son. He and Anne would undoubtedly have read *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, with its important passages on respect for Nature in landscape improvement.[48] Finally, his decision to insist on the fatal duel with Captain Best, in the grounds of Holland House*, London, on the 7th of March 1804, meant that he was to die childless, thus unexpectedly passing his estates including Boconnoc and elsewhere and Camelford House in London to Grenville as his sister's husband.

Anne's upbringing would have been for the most part at Camelford House, Oxford Street, London or at Petersham Lodge on the edge of Richmond Park, designed by Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753) for the 2nd Earl of Harrington (1719-1779), and which Camelford had acquired in 1779. (fig. 14) Petersham Lodge was a magical place with its own generous grounds which were of sufficient merit to be included as one of the 'views' in Josiah Wedgwood's 'Green Frog' Service commissioned by Catherine the Great of Russia (1729–1796).[49]

Figure 14; Anne's early homes: Left, Camelford House. J H Shepard. (unknown provenance). Right, A Front View of the Earl of Harrington's House &c. at Petersham in Surry. John Stevens. 18th c. © Government Art Collection.

Figure 15; Boconnoc House, Vignette from the Estate Plan c 1770, CRO F/3/14/11, © Cornwall Record Office.

Her father had collaborated with John Soane on the improvements to Petersham Lodge in 1783, and on alterations to Boconnoc House and stables in 1786.[50] (fig. 15). They also worked together on Pinckney Wilkinson's (c.1698-1784) house, Burnham Westgate Hall in Norfolk from 1783, a house which had come to her mother on Wilkinson's death on 26th February 1784).

The Stanhopes were another branch of the Pitt cousins. James Stanhope (c.1673-1721), the popular general and hero of the British campaign before his eventual defeat and capture during the War of the Spanish Succession, married Lucy (1692-1723), daughter of The Governor Pitt (1653-1726). They established their home at Chevening, Kent. Their granddaughter was Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839) who cared for her cousin Pitt and kept house for him at 10 Downing Street and at Walmer Castle, Kent. She was also close to, and possibly in love with, Thomas, Anne's brother.[51]

Visits to Boconnoc would be infrequent, although one summer Anne was dispatched with her brother to Boconnoc and put into the care of the Parson, Benjamin Forster (1736-1805). Anne had suffered from serious illness during her childhood, Grenville writing in 1783 that she was 'either dying or actually dead'. Anne was more often in the company of her parents, or her father alone, on their extensive periods abroad in search of better health, and perhaps, in the case of Camelford, intelligence on the state of affairs in Europe.[52] This was needed especially in relation to the consequences of the French Revolution on which he would report to Grenville. Although it was to be her cousin, Hester who would become famous as an intrepid traveller[53], there can have been few young English women other than Anne who, by the age of 18, had travelled so extensively in Europe and had direct experience of the horrific accounts given by émigrés who had escaped the guillotine. This must have determined Anne,

even as a young woman, that good order and responsibility were the keys to a successful society, a view she would come to share with Grenville. The antics of her brother and the realisation of the sorrow these inflicted on her parents must have further reinforced her opinion.[54] Her iron will was strengthened by such experiences, although she was known to be quite idle on some occasions and given to the occasional burst of fury.[55] In her dress she was inclined to 'simplicity and neatness rather than finery and ostentation.'[56]

During the journeys on the Continent, Anne had the benefit of discussions with such figures as the sculptor John Flaxman[57] and the antiquarian 'Baron' d'Hancarville [58] in addition to her father's considerable understanding of cultural matters. She had become a skilled linguist, able to write letters to her brother in Italian and speak French to her father's contacts amongst the émigrés displaced by turbulence in Europe. She was described by Louise Élizabeth Vigée-Lebrun, something of an authority on the subject, as 'extremely pretty' when she had her portrait painted Rome in 1790. One copy of this painting has found its way to the Hermitage Gallery, St Petersburg. It had formerly been the property of the Vorontsovs, close family friends of the Grenvilles[59] (fig. 16)

Figure 16; Anne Pitt painted in Rome by Vigée Lebrun. 1790. © Private Collection.

By accompanying her father on his travels, Anne enjoyed the Grand Tour Grenville never had, and her experiences must have been a strong influence on what was to become their shared view on taste. There is no complete account of her travels in Europe although she was in Rome in both 1790 and 1792. On the latter visit she kept a diary for several weeks in which she records visiting a number of Italian and Bavarian gardens, in some cases expressing strong views about them. In Rome she longed to draw the 'pretty groups of Cypresses and Pines' at the Villa Negroni.[60] She found the Villa Borghese delightful.[61] She spent an evening walking

in the gardens of the Villa Pamphilj[62] and also visited the Pantheon in the company of her father and d'Hancarville.[63] Flaxman, who joined the party at the museum, explained to her the different way he thought Hercules had been modelled before and after his deification.[64] It is difficult to think of any bear-leader offering a grand tourist a better introduction to the antiquities of Rome, than the combination of her father, d'Hancarville, and John Flaxman[65]. In addition, her diary confirms that Anne was not shielded from the accounts of the atrocities being committed in France which were being given to her father.[66]

When simply Thomas Pitt, Camelford used to refer to his small house in Twickenham as the Pitti Palace. This joke must have echoed in young Anne's ears when they reached Florence and went to see the real Palazzo Pitti. There they had a good look at a 'Marine' picture by Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). At home, in Petersham she had grown up with a similar picture, and after she and her father debated whether the one in the Palazzo was a copy, they concluded the two paintings were different compositions.[67] She was not impressed with the rigid formality of the original Boboli Gardens (fig.17).[68]

Figure 17; The rigid formality of the original Boboli Gardens, as seen from the Palazzo Pitti. 2004. © Author.

At Bologna she described a 'Fine Claudeish setting sun. Beautiful hills in one side of the town almost all crowned by some picturesque object.'[69] They travelled on via Mantua, where they were disappointed by the severe architecture of the Palazzo The, to Verona where she thought the Amphitheatre very good and, with the Colosseum in Rome, giving, 'one a complete idea of those sort of buildings'.[70]

Returning through Munich, Anne again found herself not only in an important cultural centre but also at the heart of political discussion. Her father had business with Karl Theodor, Elector of Bavaria (1724-1799) at the Nymphenberg Palace with its garden laid out by Dominique Girard (c.1680-1738), a pupil of André Le Nôtre (1613-1700). This she described

as ‘a very extensive garden in the old style’. By way of a contrast also she walked in Munich’s English Garden in its very early stages. It was begun in 1789 by the Elector’s American-born military adviser, the polymath General Sir Benjamin Thompson, later Count Rumford (1753-1814),[71] with advice from the English-trained Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell, (1750-1823) who carried out further improvements in the early 19th Century. Thompson also acted as their guide on a trip to Lake Starnberg where she found ‘the most enjoyable scenes in the world’. In contrast to her rather dry references to formal gardens Anne enthuses in her diary about the landscape she sees around the lake at Ammerland;

> There are the sweetest lawns in these woods dotted with immense old oaks in the style of the finest English grounds. The ground just as and even as you would wish it. You go sometimes through the thickest wood then burst out unexpectedly upon the lake which on this side is ended by noble mountains the tops of which are covered with snow. We might regret not being able to pursue our walk onward which would have carried us quite a way from the lake into a valley which Gen T described as the finest thing imaginable.[72]

During her travels, Anne became quite settled in her resolve to marry Grenville on her return and the two corresponded. However, Anne did not confide her thoughts on that subject to the diary. What does become clear from that diary and from the letters written to Grenville by her father during that journey is not only that Anne had the advantage of seeing the widest possible taste in gardens and landscapes in continental Europe outside France but she also experienced first-hand accounts of the atrocities taking place in France, the plight of emigré aristocrats and the problems being created elsewhere in Europe by military action. These were problems with which Grenville was himself having to grapple as a newly appointed Foreign Secretary. In that post he rarely travelled, relying instead on reports from official representatives, the network of spies and informants coordinated through the shadowy ‘Aliens Office’, and his own personal contacts such as Camelford. His preferred modus operandi is made clear in a letter to his brother Tom, who he dispatched on a hazardous diplomatic mission to Berlin in1799. ‘I feel a happiness that I cannot express to you in being *myself* as I now am, here in London to plan and there at Berlin to execute’.[73] In addition to her broad cultural education, Anne’s insight into social and political conditions on the ground in Europe must have been of great assistance to Grenville’s onerous task of defending Britain against revolution and invasion.

Anne was the heiress on whom Grenville set his sights, encouraged, as is evident from their correspondence, by Camelford.[74] It was not that she was expected to have great wealth, as that would go to her brother Thomas, rather that he thought her interests mirrored his own

almost exactly, and so it would prove. However, in 1790 when he had first suggested the match through her father, when he was thirty and anxious to settle down, she was just seventeen and equally anxious not to lose her liberty. The answer was no, not to Grenville as such, but to any marriage at that stage. In order to help her make her decision Camelford wrote her a long note, thought to be in December 1790, which reveals a father's concern for his daughter in eighteenth-century society.[75] Significantly, in warning of the pitfalls of having high rank and great possessions this note previsions the ruin of the Stowe Grenvilles,[76] something, perhaps, both he and Grenville could already anticipate from their behaviour. Over the next two years Grenville sought to engage her confidence and despite initial setbacks he thought he had done so by the time the Camelfords planned to leave for the Continent with Anne in the summer of 1791. Now it was Camelford who urged caution writing in a letter concluding 'yours affectionately';

> No my dear friend, let us come back to our original plan, let her be at full liberty, let her prove her own heart; it is in the interest of both of you. If things turn out as we wish, you will have firmer confidence in each other's attachment: if otherwise, (and indeed that is not probable tho' possible) your generosity will suggest to you arguments for your consolation in having preffer'd the happiness of the object of your tenderness to your own. I cannot wonder that the least idea of a risque of losing what your partiality sets so high a value upon should alarm you, but in truth you owe it to her, you owe it to yourself to endure that trial: and I am fully persuaded you will be amply rewarded for it by building your happiness upon a surer foundation. Let us see you as usual tomorrow, *et ne me savez pas mauvais gré de ce qui je juge plus sainement qu'un amant.*[77] *For full text see* Appendix 1.

That proved to be good advice; they would be married within a month of her return to England, by special licence, on the 18th July 1791, in the Drawing Room of Camelford House. Prior to this though, Grenville had sufficient confidence in the prospect of marriage to Anne that he had already set out to find a place to make a home and settled on Dropmore.[78]In 1803 Anne was to be painted by Hoppner as Lady Grenville (fig. 18)

Figure 18; Anne Pitt as Lady Grenville, John Hoppner. Exhibited Royal Academy. 1803. © Private Collection

[1] The Ministry of 'All the Talents' was a government of national unity formed by Grenville following the death of Pitt in January 1806. *See*: Harvey, A. D., 'The Ministry of All the Talents: The Whigs in Office February 1806 to March 1807', *The Historical Journal* , 15, no. 4 (1972).
[2] Birdwood, Vere, ed., *So Dearly Loved, So Much Admired; Letters to Hester Pitt, Lady Chatham from Her Relations and Friends 1744 - 1801* (London: HMSO, 1994), 33.
[3] Jupp, Peter, *Lord Grenville; 1759 - 1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1985), 8.
[4] Ibid, 7. Jupp accepts the extent of that influence is difficult to diagnose and bases his conclusion on the similarity between the political careers of father and son.
[5] Beckett, John, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles: Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, 1710 to 1721* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 70.
[6] CBS, Spencer Bernard MSS OE/10/4.
[7] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 15.
[8] Knight, Roger, *Britain against Napoleon; the Organisation of Victory 1793 - 1815* (London: Penguin, 2013), 64.
[9] BL Add MS 69333. Family Characters and Anecdotes, written by Camelford (then Pitt) for Thomas Pitt, f.69.
[10] Lorigan, Catherine, *Boconnoc: The History of a Cornish Estate* (Stroud: The History Press, 2017), 157, from Diary of George Grenville, Boconnock, 26 June 1767, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. ST, vol 7, 1784 - 1769.
[11] Whately, Thomas, *Observations on Modern Gardening* 1st ed. (London: 1770).
[12] Phibbs, John, 'The Englishness of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown',*Garden History,* 31, no. 2, (2003), p. 127, http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1587291.
[13] 'The Grenville Landscape of Wotton House', Patrick Eyres, ed., *New Arcadian Journal*, vols. 66-67, 2009.
[14] Family Characters*,* f.62. Of his politics Camelford wrote, 'In such an apprenticeship [under George Grenville] it is my pride to have learnt those principles which I trust I have never departed from & which should be happy to be able to transmit to my posterity.' However he would not slavishly follow any party line, adding later at f. 66, 'My conduct in the House of Commons [in refusing to join the administrations of Chatham, Grafton and North]…til the death of my poor friend Mr Grenville whose party I was never tempted one hour to abandon tho I left myself always the liberty to give my vote upon particular questions as I thought reasonable.
[15] Ibid, f.66v.
[16] BL Add MS 69050, f.1, Fortescue to Anne. [1806-1807?].
[17] BL Add MS 69362, f.30, Anne to Fortescue [December 1830].
[18] BL Add MS 69055, f.59v, Anne to Fortescue, 13 June 1853.
[19] The attributions are taken from Phibbs, John. *Place-Making; the Art of Capability Brown* (Swindon: Historic England, 2017)
[20] 'The Grenville Landscape'.
[21] Vernon, Joanna Elizabeth, 'Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford; Amateur Architect, Connoisseur and Patron of the Arts. A Case Study in the History of Taste 1760 -1793' (Royal Holloway College, London University, 1993), 160.
[22] Ibid., 160. For the relationship, personal and professional between Camelford and Soane *see also* Chapters V and VI, 117ff.
[23] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Wyndham, Sir William, Third Baronet (C 1688 - 1740)'. Under Queen Anne he rose to become Chancellor of the Exchequer. On her death, as a vehement anti-Hanoverian, he became a leader of the Jacobite cause leading to his arrest. Nonetheless he continued to serve in Parliament, opposing Walpole. He died falling from his horse whilst hunting.
[24] Mowl, Timothy and Marion Mako, *Historic Gardens of Somerset* (Bristol: Redclifffe Press 2010), 53.
[25] Catherine Stapleton was a close friend of Lady Grenville and, with Lord Grenville in poor health, took charge of the day-to-day care of the children. Mrs Montague the essayist wrote to Lord Lyttleton in the 23rd December 1769: 'I felt unspeakable concern for the loss of Mrs Grenville. I cannot think what poor Mr Grenville and the children must feel upon such a separation. Nature, birth, and everything seem to conspire to make her the first woman of the Country, and as added to that, she was the best too, when can regret and sorrow cease to weep? … I am rejoiced to hear Miss Stapleton will show her friendship to her lost friend, not by unavailing tears merely, but by tender care of the children. Miss Stapleton's character makes one rejoice in this, it will take off a great deal of anxiety from Mr Grenville, and although it cannot ease his sorrow, will soften it.' Williams Wynn, Lady Charlotte *Correspondence of Charlotte Grenville, Lady Williams Wynn and Her Three Sons, Sir Watkin Willliams Wynn Bart., Rt. Hon. Charles Williams Wynn, and Sir Henry Williams Wynn G.C.H., Kcb 1795 - 1831.* (London: Murray, 1920). Kindle edition loc 173.
[26] Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, 65.

[27] BL Add MS 59817 B, ff.83-98, 167, Thomas Whately to Lord Grenville 23 June-19 July 1769.
[28] Birdwood, *So Dearly Loved*, 37.
[29] Ibid., 186.
[30] The title of a burlesque by Henry Carey first produced in 1734 as 'The Most Tragical Tragedy that ever was Tragediz'd by any Company of Tragedians'.
[31] Birdwood, *So Dearly Loved*, 26.
[32] Thomas Smith, believed to be the illegitimate son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton himself, had an uneven but eventually successful career in the British Navy becoming Admiral of the Blue and the inventor of the Divisional System of command which remains in force today. Dismissed in 1728 for insulting the captain of a French corvette which had taken refuge in Plymouth Sound, he was reinstated without loss of promotion because of an outburst of support from his naval colleagues including ordinary seaman. He became known thereafter as Tom O'Ten Thousand. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Smith, Thomas (1707?-1762)'.
[33] Family Characters, f.73.
[34] Harney, Marion, *Place-Making for the Imagination: Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
[35] Symes, Michael, 'William Pitt the Elder: The Gran Mago of Landscape Gardening', *Garden History,* 24, no. 1 (1996).
[36] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Grenville, Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-, First Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839)'.
[37] Ibid.
[38] The best of this collection of over 20,000 books, which were bequeathed to the British Museum on his death in 1846, are now housed within the Library of George III in the King's Library Tower at the British Museum, *see* Taylor, Barry, 'Thomas Grenville (1755 - 1846) and His Books', *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, eds., (London: 2009).
[39] BL Add MS 58873, ff.42, 227, Grenville to Anne. [[8 September] and 19 October 1813, *see* Appendix 2.
[40] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 59.
[41] Ibid., 62-70.
[42] Lord & Lady Grenville, Tour to South Wales Etc., 1801, BL Add MSS 69158 and 69159, Dropmore Papers.
[43] The popular contemporary name for the Pitt, Temple, Grenville, Lyttelton coterie.
[44] Tolstoy, Nikolai, *The Half-Mad Lord, Thomas Pitt 2nd Baron Camelford* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978).
[45] Ibid., 7
[46] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, 1782, Peter France, trans., Penguin Classics ed., The Fifth Walk.
[47] Tolstoy, *The Half-Mad Lord*, 11-13.
[48] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *La Nouvelle Heloise*, 1761, Judith H. McDowell, trans., Pennsylvania State University ed., *see* Letter XI and 'Julie's Elysium'.
[49] Michael Raeburn, Ludmilla Voronikhina, and Andrew Nurnburg, eds., *The Green Frog Service* (London: Cacklegoose Press, in association with The State Hermitage, St Petersburg, 1995).
[50] Soane Museum – Soane Buildings List of Projects. www.soane.org [accessed 22/01/2014].
[51] Ellis, Kirsten, *Star of the Morning, the Extraordinary Life of Lady Hester Stanhope.* (London: Harper Collins, 2008), 41.
[52] Sparrow, Elizabeth, "The Alien Office, 1792–1806 " *History Journal* 33, no. 2 (1990).
[53] Ellis, *Star of the Morning*.
[54] Tolstoy, *The Half-Mad Lord*
[55] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 110; *See also* BL Add MS 59487, ff.158-219v., Family Papers including advice by Camelford to his children.
[56] Ibid, 109
[57] John Flaxman (1755-1826) had an enormous influence on the imagery of the 19th century, not least on the many figures who modelled for Josiah Wedgwood's ceramics factory. From 1787 for seven years he worked initially studying Italian antiquities and working on commissions and book illustrations of which the most celebrated are the 111 drawings he made for Dante Algihieri's *The Divine Comedy*, commissioned by Thomas Hope.
[58] Pierre-Françoise Hugues (1719-1805) also known as Baron d'Hancarville, art dealer and pornographer, friend of Sir William Hamilton, British Representative at Naples, had a great influence on the understanding of early artefacts, in particular demonstrating the difference between symbolism and representative art.
[59] Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Elisabeth Vigee-Lebrun, Memoirs of a Painter: An Extraordinary Life before, During and after the French Revolution* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 57. Arriving in Rome in 1790 'I painted Miss Pitt, who was sixteen [actually 18 or nearly so] and extremely pretty. I represented her as Hebe, on some clouds, holding in her hand a goblet from which an eagle was about to drink. I did the eagle from life, and I thought he would eat me. He belonged to the Cardinal de Bernis. The wretched beast, accustomed to being in the open air -

for he was kept on a chain in the courtyard - was so enraged at finding himself in my room that he tried to fly at me. I admit that I was dreadfully frightened.'
[60] BL Add MS 69291, Diary of Anne Pitt, 1792. f.2.
[61] Ibid, f.4.
[62] Ibid, f.10.
[63] Ibid, f.5.
[64] Ibid, f.6.
[65] A colloquialism for men escorting callow youths on the Grand Tour.
[66] Diary of Anne Pitt, f.3.
[67] Ibid, f.27. 'It is one of the finest pictures of the kind I ever saw and though perhaps the principal part of it may be finer than Papa's (being in much better preservation) yet there are many things in it we did not like so well. This is longer in its proportion and there appear to us to be more space beyond the tower than in the small one and likewise more rocks at the other end. There are small differences enough to prove that one is not a copy of the other there are one or two pines here that are omitted in the small one and a grated window in the tower besides many alterations in the ships.'
[68] Ibid., f.30 'It is difficult for anything to be worse laid out than they are [The Boboli Gardens] being cut into straight walks which upon this Hill has an exceeding bad effect and is very steep (which we object to the more as the weather was very hot) if this were made into an English garden it would be the prettiest thing in the world the views from it are lovely. Upon the summit there is a small house with a little parterre from one side of which the whole Vale of Arno surrounded by its beautiful hills where Fiesole discovers itself. On the other one looks over nearer hills cultivated to the top with vineyards etc. and crowned with picturesque white buildings & convents with a few cypresses etc nothing can be more riant than this view what one wishes for is a larger river and some great trees.
[69] Diary of Anne Pitt, f.39.
[70] Ibid, f.41.
[71] Count Rumford was born in Massachusetts and was knighted by George III for the part he played in fighting for the loyalist side in the American War of Independence. In addition to his military and landscaping skills he was a distinguished physicist and inventor although sometimes criticised for allowing theological explanations to intrude on his scientific method, for example asserting that water had divine properties. His principal area of interest lay in the examination of heat. He was an early proponent of 'sous vide' cooking and applied himself to the problem of smoking chimneys. In 1813 Anne Grenville would apply his method in designing a new fireplace for her lodgings in Malvern whilst taking the waters. 'Tomorrow I am to have a bricklayer at my orders to Rumford a chimney.' BL Add MS 58873, f.10. *see* Appendix 2.
[72] Diary of Anne Pitt, f.49.
[73] Lord Grenville to Thomas Grenville May 25, 1799 Stowe Papers, Dropmore V, 65; Elliot, D. C., 'The Grenville Mission to Berlin, 1799', *Huntington Library Quarterly* ,18, no. 2, (1955).
[74] BL Add MS 69042, f.12, Camelford to Grenville, 12 September 1790.
[75] BL Add MS 69290, ff.15-20, Camelford to Anne, [13 December 1790], *see* Appendix 1.
[76] Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles.*
[77] BL Add MS 69042, f.99, Camelford to Grenville, 8 April 1791.
[78] Lever, Sir Tresham, *The House of Pitt* (London: Murray, 1947), 267-270; Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 107-216.

Chapter 2. The 'Picturesque' and the Theory of Association

This Chapter deals with the positions Grenville took on the two most important philosophical debates that influenced the making of landscapes toward the end of the eighteenth-century; the meaning of 'picturesque' and the place of 'association'. These two theories are in essence intertwined, because if aesthetic judgements are subjective they are necessarily dependent on the associations a person has accumulated. Although Grenville's own *Essays* were not intended for general public distribution, they are considered in this chapter as they are the best evidence of his considered views on the two subjects.

The Picturesque Debate

The Grenvilles formed their ideas of how to make the landscape at Dropmore and improve the landscape at Boconnoc during the years when the 'picturesque debate' was raging most strongly. It centred on a three-sided argument between landowners. Firstly, Uvedale Price (1747-1829), of Foxley, Herefordshire who later described himself as 'professionally picturesque, and very much of a tree-monger';[1] secondly, Richard Payne Knight of Downton Castle (1751-1824), also in Herefordshire, who were improving their estates by way of a process over time; and thirdly, Humphry Repton (1752-1818) who had transformed himself from a minor land owner to landscape architect selling designs to those who had no definite idea as to how best to improve their properties, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. Repton was a stout defender of Brown's reputation, and considered himself, with some justification, to be his successor.

In the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens,[2] parts of the Boconnoc landscape are described as being picturesque on no less than 17 occasions. The entry for Dropmore, which was fashioned on similar principles, uses no such term, thus illustrating the confusion arising from the inappropriate application of it. Picturesque is a much abused and confused word,[3] which is of little assistance in landscape analysis unless used in the particular sense given to it in the *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, 'Landscapes when seen from specific viewpoints, form framed compositions worthy of a painting or drawing'.[4] Thus, both the view of Old Scotney Castle from the new house at Scotney Castle contrived for Edward Hussey (1807-1894) by Anthony Salvin (1799-1881) and William Sawrey Gilpin (c.1762-1843) in about 1835, and the naturally-occurring view of the Jaws of Borrowdale seen over Derwent Water from a particular 'station',[5] can each be described as picturesque. William Gilpin (1724-

1804),[6] and the Grenvilles, however, would have described them as having 'picturesque beauty'.[7]

Price's attempt to introduce a category of aesthetic effect between beauty and the sublime led him to identify the 'efficient causes' of his chosen term 'picturesque' as being 'roughness, and of sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity.' These he distinguished from the qualities giving rise to beauty, smoothness and gradual variation lacking variety or intricacy'.[8] It was never Price's intention to disturb the analysis of what gave rise to the quality of beauty as a whole, made by either Edmund Burke (1730-1797),[9] or by Gilpin.[10] Where Price departed from orthodoxy was to suggest that picturesqueness was an inherent aesthetic quality in objects he described as being picturesque, as opposed to being capable of generating a picturesque effect in the mind of an observer, something dependent on subjective opinion. Price allowed a place for association in one's consideration of the picturesque, but thought this was limited to increasing or diminishing the effects of beauty or ugliness but could not 'alter their distinct nature + appearance'.[11]

It was at the 'Brownian' legacy that Price and Knight directed their fire and which drew them in to the argument. Whilst not sharing a common philosophical viewpoint they were allied in a dislike of what they saw as being formulaic, 'bare and bald', place-making. That shared opinion at first suggested to them the idea of a collaborative essay but differences in personality and philosophy made that impossible.[12] In 1794 they each set out their different stalls: Price with his *Essays on the Picturesque,*[13] Knight his didactic poem *The Landscape.*[14]

The Thomas Hearne Plates.

Thomas Hearne (1744-1817) drew two contrasting images to illustrate Knight's poem. (fig. 19).

Plate I Plate II

Plate 1. **An Undressed Scene**, and Plate II. **A Scene Dressed in the Modern Style**.

Figure 19; Thomas Hearne's illustrations for Payne Knight's poem *The Landscape* (1794). © The British Library.

Repton, seeking to defend Brown's reputation, suggested:

> In Mr Knight's work, there are two etchings from the masterly pencil of Mr. Hearne, which, though intended as examples of good and bad taste, serve rather to exemplify bad taste in the two extremes of artificial neatness and wild neglect. I can hardly suppose any humble follower of Brown, or any admirer of the 'bare and bald' to shave, and smooth, and serpentine, a scene like this caricature of modern improvement; nor would any architect of common taste, suggest such a house, instead of the venerable pile in the other drawing At the same time, there is a concomitant absurdity in the other view, unless we are to consider it as the forsaken mansion of a noble family gone to decay: for if it be allowable to approach the house by any road, and if that road must cross the river, there are architects in this country, who would suggest designs for a bridge in unison with the situation, without either copying fantastic Chinese models, or the no less fantastic wooden bridge here introduced; which, though perfectly picturesque in its form, and applicable to the steep banks of the Teme, yet, in this flat situation looks like the wretched expedient of poverty, or a ridiculous affectation of rural simplicity.[15]

Knight responded to this, in a note to the second edition of the *Poem*;

> I have chosen the commonest English scenery; and that I might not be supposed to take advantage of any tricks of light and shadow in favour of my own system, I have given mere engraver's etchings, which have no pretension to effect. The engraver has indeed rather favoured that which I condemn, by giving more breadth, in the little light and shadow that there is, to the second plate than the first. [16]

A comparison of contemporary images suggests Knight to be in the right. The 'dressed' scene is less bald than Brown's work at Highclere, Blenheim, Broadlands or Croome Court

(fig. 23), to name but four. The 'undressed' scene is less extreme in its representation of nature than Hearne's view of Knight's Downton Gorge. (fig. 20)

Figure 20; Croome Court, after restoration of the lake during 2003. David Noton, © National Trust.

In his note, Repton obviously intended to refer to the bridge in Hearne's drawing of the Teme Gorge (fig.21).[17] That drawing predates Knight's *Poem* by a decade, so cannot be challenged as an attempt to cobble up evidence in support of Knight's criticism of Brown.

Figure 21; The River Teme at Downton, Herefordshire. Thomas Hearne. 1785-6. 3933-1876 © Victoria and Albert Museum

Hearne's two illustrations are printed in a specific order in the text of both the 1794 and 1795 editions, an order explained in the notes written by Knight to accompany the Poem. These are as follows:

Book I:

> v. 215 and v. 221 (Line 215, note 11)[18] Compare the same scene in plates I. and II.; in the latter dressed in the modern style, and in the former, undressed. That my

representations of the effects of both may be perfectly fair, I have chosen the commonest English scenery.

And

v. 277 (Line 296, note 16) See plate I. in the middle distance, a brook flowing in its natural banks; and in plate II. the same brook, with its banks dressed by an improver.

Book II:

v. 13 (Line 13, note 18) See plate I.-In the distance, a mansion-house with the ancient decorations; and in plate II. the same modernised.

And

v. 47 (Line 47, note 19) See plate I in the foreground. [a group of trees]
v. 51 (Line 51, note 20) See plate II, a clump substituted to the group in the preceding plate.

And

v. 65 See Plate I.
v. 67 (Line 67, note 22) See plates I. and II. the same house with and without these old-fashioned decorations.

And

v. 180 (Line.180, note 25) See plate I. the bank in the foreground.
v. 188 (Line 188, note 26) See plate II. the same bank dressed and levelled in the style of modern taste.

And

v. 212 (Line 238, note 28) See plate I. In the middle distance, a view of a rustic bridge, taken from one which I have erected.-For the various effects of different arched and flagged bridges, see the Liber Veritas of Claude; in which some of almost every form are introduced, in every kind of situation.
v. 217 (Line. 243, note 29) See plate II. a Chinese bridge substituted to the preceding rustic one.'

The two plates are often relied on by landscape commentators as exemplars of contrasting styles of the 'English Landscape Garden'. Too often, and curiously, they are reproduced in the wrong order, with the 'dressed scene' printed first.[19] The thrust of the poem and the wording of the notes ought to prevent this, as should the inferences drawn from the images themselves. A 'dressed' landscape can be torn out of the 'undressed' scene shown. However, within the lifetime of all but the youngest of landowners, the effect shown in the 'undressed' scene, with all the accidents of nature it assumes, cannot be achieved given the bare and bald 'dressed' scene as a starting point. Whilst the style of architecture of the house and the bridge shown in each image may represent what is known as a 'binary choice', there is no such choice available when it comes to the landscape itself. It is remarkably easy to 'fake up' the 'true rust' of a building from an earlier age ,[20] not so to replicate natural processes which may have taken millennia, and certainly decades, to do their work. The lucky possessor of a landscape looking like the undressed scene has, therefore, a choice about how it may be dressed; not so the inheritor of a 'bare and bald' park. Repton himself acknowledged this in

passages which recognises the potential of nature to generate attractive effects, and the powerful forces for change which it can unleash:

> I have often wished it were possible to produce the outline of Stokenchurch Hill, as seen in the road from Oxford to London; but this is a forest partially cleared of wood by time and accident: in vain will any new place assume that same degree of respectability as it is impossible to produce the same effect by new plantations, as to produce immediately the far-spreading beech or majestic oak, now become vulnerable by the lapse of centuries.[21]

The mistaken juxtaposition of the two plates is of significance because it helps to explain why, in the countless attempts to categorise different kinds of English landscape garden, there are few, if any, which recognise those qualities which are driven by a process of negotiation with nature over time. This is a characteristic the author has described as the 'Naturesque',[22] indicating the way in which natural features are explored and enhanced to produce an exceptional, *sui generis*, result.[23] The makers of Boconnoc, Dropmore, Hestercombe, Hafod, Hackfall, Foxley, and Downton, all went about the business of improvement in the same way but with strikingly different results in each case.

The Tyranny of the Eye

Treating the images as no more than a demonstration of two different expressions of taste confines garden and landscape history to a limited realm governed by the tyranny of the eye, something William Wordsworth (1770-1850) described as being 'in every stage of life the most despotic of our senses';

> Although a strong infection of the age,
> Was never much my habit—giving way
> To a comparison of scene with scene,
> Bent overmuch on superficial things,
> Pampering myself with meagre novelties
> Of colour and proportion, to the moods
> Of nature, and the spirit of the place,
> Less sensible.
>
> The state to which I now allude was one
> In which the eye was master of the heart,
> When that which is in every stage of life
> The most despotic of our senses gained
> Such strength in me as often held my mind
> In absolute dominion.[24]

It is easy to see the two images, and actual gardens, as no more than visual treats for a fleeting visitor, asking themselves which pictures they prefer. That view offers only a limited perspective. It is, as Wordsworth described, 'of nature and the spirit of the place less sensible'.

The references to nature in modern publications tend to consider only whether landscapes were intended to look 'natural' by imitating nature. The fact that many people set out to improve their properties the better to enjoy, and in some cases improve, nature itself is generally overlooked. The desire to experience the full range of natural change in the landscape is a feature not only of some owners in the late eighteenth-century, it can be traced back to Classical and Renaissance eras.[25] Wild gardening,[26] perhaps better described as gardening the wild, now an eco-driven rage, has always been an aim of some proprietors, not least Petrarch (1304-1374),[27] and Joseph Addison (1672-1719), co-editor of the *Spectator*. [28]

Commentaries on how landscapes were, and indeed are, used are relatively rare, and given the gamut of possibilities, necessarily incomplete.[29] However, there is a rich seam of references in primary printed materials, journals and correspondence which shed light on how important, for some, was an interaction with nature itself. The Knight *poem* is one such source. It is an interesting reflection on the supreme significance given today to the 'look' of a garden or landscape how rarely the scene, whether drawn, painted or photographed is animated by figures, human or otherwise. In the eighteenth-century this practice was commonplace and both William Kent (c.1685-1748) and Repton would follow such painters as Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665) and frequently add interest to their sketches in this way, (fig. 22). In doing so they gave some insight as to how places might be enjoyed. That John Chessell Buckler (1793-1894) did not do so, *see* Appendix 6, denies us what might have been a useful glimpse at the way the Grenvilles used Dropmore.

Figure 22; Left, Chiswick House, London. William Kent. c.1730. © Victoria and Albert Museum . Right, From the Red Book for Babworth, Nottinghamshire. Humphry Repton. 1792. © Parks and Gardens UK.

After Price published his *Essay* in 1794, he was almost immediately subject to a broadside from John Matthews (1755 -1826), physician, poet and sometime MP for Herefordshire. He was scarcely an indifferent by-stander since he had consulted Repton on his estate at Clehonger, Herefordshire, where he built Belmont House, using James Wyatt (1716-1813) as his architect.[30] Having lampooned Knight's own work in a satirical poem *A Sketch from The Landscape,* he added a postscript, in prose, directed at Price and asking a straightforward question;[31]

> Let me conclude my prosing by asking, why are the purchasers of 'ready made taste' to be treated so contemptuously? If all 'whom Heaven has blessed with affluence', (according to the newspaper phrase) were also endowed with Mr P.s genius, the slop-shops of Capability might well perhaps be shut up. Yet even here the experienced Artist might sometimes be consulted with advantage. But are there no wealthy characters, who...retire from their shops and counting-houses, to some newly purchased estate in the country, stung by the raging love of improving? May we not find here and there a fox hunting man 'Squire, with no very accurate ideas of the picturesque and the beautiful, who is at the same time goaded on by the desire of imitating his more tasteful neighbours. In these cases, and some others, I am inclined to think that 'ready-made taste' is a great public benefit. Although like 'ready-made love' it may not give the purchaser, as where the finer feeling of the soul are called into action.

The argument between Price and Repton can be seen not so much about a difference in taste, more a debate about opportunity and techniques of management. It was a joust by champions choosing to charge down different Lists and therefore condemned never to land an effective blow on either with their lances. Repton and Knight who for this purpose was on the same side, contended that picturesque beauty was a matter of subjective judgement, and therefore open to opinion; Price argued that objects spoke for themselves, and had, as it were, their own aesthetic voice. He suggested that whether they were picturesque or not was a question of fact. On a different level, neither Knight nor Price pondered sufficiently on the practical needs of designers, and those who used designers, to craft their landscape, nor did Repton ever give sufficient credit to those who made the most of the natural advantages of the land they owned over time.

It is to be questioned whether the term 'picturesque' has any useful meaning in the description of made landscapes, save in places where, as described by Price in his letters to Sir George Beaumont (1753-1827), and Grenville, there was a deliberate intention to create pictures rather than broader scenes, *see* Appendix 8. Otherwise, what is or is not a suitable subject for the making of a picture is largely subjective.[32] So many of the words written about 'The Picturesque' attempt the inappropriate, if not the impossible; that is to treat what is a

subjective judgment as an objective characterisation. Individuals can search for what they see to be picturesque scenes, they can even be helped to find them. They may set out deliberately to create such scenes. If found or made these will be for them picturesque and may seem so to others, but not necessarily everyone. As an aesthetic judgement the same can be said about beauty generally, of which the picturesque is only one component. It is unhelpful to treat the beautiful as a category or genre of landscape even where the makers intention has been to create beauty, because that tells us nothing about the kind of garden or landscape they have made. In the end the 'picturesque debate' concluded in a shambles, without significantly improving on William Gilpin's initial suggestions about the subject;

> With regard to the term picturesque, I have always myself used it merely to denote such objects, as are proper subjects for painting: so that according to my definition, one of the cartoons, and a flower piece are equally picturesque.[33]

Attempts to embellish the term stuttered on through the twentieth century when Christopher Hussey (1899-1970) reopened the debate in *The Picturesque; Studies in a Point of View*.[34] Such metaphysical excursions take the subject far away from the business of place-making into which it had been inserted by Price as a way of attacking the work of Brown. It is questionable if metaphysical concepts help us properly to understand the landscape when they are stretched too far.[35] Dixon Hunt has argued for a search for 'meanings' in gardens beyond colours and forms.[36] It is difficult to read any more significant meaning into a landscape, as a whole, than the interaction of the owner with their property as they found it, and his or her own set of associations. Particular elements within a landscape may trigger personal associations for a visitor but these do not reveal the 'meaning' of the whole.

Nature Intervenes

A much more interesting dimension than the question of picturesqueness as a visual phenomenon, was the one brought into the debate by Knight in *The Landscape*, the practical interaction between man and nature in the enjoyment of landscape. This has been given little weight in the literature. There is much more to his work than promoting a policy of neglect, picked on by Repton, which this stanza might suggest;

> Break their fell scythes, that would these beauties shave
> And sink their iron rollers in the wave!
> Your favourite plants, and native haunts protect,
> In wild obscurity and rude neglect.[37]

Knight goes much further than did Thomas Gray (1716-1771) in the first three stanzas of his 1751 'graveyard' *Elegy,*[38] in describing the sensations of an interaction with natural phenomena;

> Let me, retired from business, toil and strife
> Close amid books and solitude my life;
> Beneath yon high-brow'd rocks in thickets rove,
> Or, meditating, wander through the grove;
> Or, from the cavern, view the noontide beam
> Dance on the rippling of the lucid stream
> While the wild woodbine dangles o'er my head
> And various flowers their fragrance spread
> Or where, 'midst scatter'd trees the opening glade
> Admits the well-mix'd tints of light and shade;
> And as the day's bright colours fade away
> Just shows my devious solitary way:
> While thickening glooms around are slowly spread
> And glimmering sun-beams gild the mountain's head:
> Then homeward as I sauntering move along
> The nightingale begins his evening song;
> Chantering a requiem to departed light,
> That smooths the raven down of sable night
> When morning's orient beams again arise,
> And the day reddens in the eastern skies,
> I hear the cawing rooks salute the dawn,
> High in the oaks which overhang the lawn;
> Perch'd up aloft, the council sits in state
> And the groves echo with the loud debate
> Whilst various ways the adventurous squadrons fly
> Explore the thickets, and the fallow try
> Dig up the earthworms, wrapped in spiry folds
> And drag the embryo beetles from their holds
> Till tired with toil, and satiated with prey
> Again they bend their airy way
> And boastful celebrate, in clamours loud
> Their various triumphs to the attending crowd.
> Yet e'en these little politicians know
> The ills, that from a social contract flow.
> Here, where I view the feuds of petty strife
> I learn, unfelt, the ills of public life
> Hail! Happy scenes of meditative ease
> Where pleasure's sense and wisdom is to please
> Not such as, in the pastoral poet's strains
> Fancy spreads o'er imaginary plains;
> Where love-sick shepherds sillier than their sheep
> In love-sick numbers, fully as silly weep
> But such as nature's common charms produce
> For social Man's delight and common use
> Form'd to amuse, instruct, and please the mind
> By study polish'd, and by arts refined

Arts, whose benignant powers around dispense
The grace of pleasure, that's approved by taste
And, bending nature to their soft control,
Expand, exalt, and purify the soul.[39]

There can be little doubt that Knight enjoyed the delights of nature for their own sake, his close observation of the life of a rookery puts that beyond doubt. Indeed, his improvements to the landscape at Downton Castle were designed to let nature reassert itself in what had been a post-industrial landscape degraded by charcoal burning and smelting, activities which had been his grandfather's business at Downton. For example, he played an elaborate game with the sound of running water by using a tunnel on the bank of the Teme to provide a sensory pleasure. However, for Knight there was something more to be had from nature, the capacity of such natural phenomena to trigger moral associations. Ballantyne has described Knight's concern, in *The Landscape,* as being 'to portray the garden as a landscape of ideas, symbols and metaphors'.[40] The idea of landscape as an engine of association was one to which Grenville was also drawn in his short essays on Landscape.

Association

Grenville set out his mature view on the improvement of landscape and the importance of associations in undertaking such work in *Dropmore*.[41] It was prefaced by a poem.

I.

Dropmore! My happy home; thrice blest abode
Of liberty and peace, and toil-earned rest!
Where Heaven, with countless mercies undeserved,
Smooths the slope path of my declining age:
Dropmore, of thee I speak, and speak to those
Of faith long-tried, whose converse best commends
Thy pure enjoyments, noble and innocent
Delights of rural life, thy tranquil shades,
Deep sheltered from the stormy world's tumultuous strife.

II.

Come, then, loved friends! Once more retrace with me
These beech-crowned hills, and soft descending lawns
Gay smiling to the noontide sun, these woods
With shadows deep embrowned, the forest glade,
The purple heath, and meadow's vivid green,
Gardens and groves, and tangling thickets wild,
And, in rich prospect o'er yon tufted vale
Seen from some chequered shade, or rustic seat,
Imperial Windsor's pride, and Eton's classic spires.

III.

Bright glows in scenes like these, with purer flame,

The virtuous mind, oft pausing o'er each spot
Stamped with deep impress of the times forepast.
Of generous thoughts, high deeds, and men renowned,
Or the dear image of some valued friend:
Bright, 'midst this fair creation's glorious works,
From the rapt soul beams forth the spirit of love, -
The taste refined of order, beauty, and grace –
The still recurring sense of Heaven's peculiar care.

IV.

Almighty Power! While these thy bounteous gifts
Gild the mild twilight of my waning day,
Still with thy mercies may my heart o'erflow!
But far above these gifts, O may thy word
Teach me their righteous use, their tenure frail ;-
Teach me on higher joys my thoughts to fix,
To love thy law, to work thy heavenly will!
Maker! Redeemer! Source of every good
Vouchsafed to man on earth, or hoped beyond the grave!

Grenville had these 5 interconnected essays printed privately, for friends, in 1831. The essays are as follows:

I. Of Landscape As Heightened By Intellectual And Moral Association.
II. Of The Landscape Of Poetry As Heightened By Similar Associations.
III. Of Landscape-Gardening, As Heightened By Similar Association.
IV. Of Classic Associations In Landscape.
V. The Same Subject Pursued – Of the Imitation Of Classic Architecture In Landscape.[42]

Anyone reading the essays today, not familiar with the literature of the Classics, and in their original languages, might consider them to be unnecessarily ponderous and discursive. Unlike Knight's *The Landscape*, they were never intended to be didactic, merely reflective. Harvey has commented on how Grenville was 'a natural scholar, reader and contemplator, rather than a natural writer.'[43] The tortured gestation of the *Essays* bears this out: they were the subject of numerous drafts, each of which Grenville would send to Tom for comment and amendment, to the extent that Tom should perhaps be seen as a co-author.[44] However, they were written for Grenville's own satisfaction and for his friends, all of whom would have understood how those references brought colour to his ideas. In 1828, referring to his work on the history of the philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) at Oxford University, Grenville explained to Tom how important it was, confined by illness, for him continuing to think and to write. Whilst obeying his doctor and steering 'clear of all fatigue and abstraction of mind' this afforded him 'what I cannot live without, some mental occupation, without which my mind eats itself, the worst food it can have.'[45]

He was writing after he was prevented from playing a full part in embellishing Dropmore by his stroke, as he explains in *Essay III*: 'Of Landscape-Gardening, as Heightened by Similar Associations':

> The prevailing images impressed on landscape by its buildings, are therefore the test by which we commonly, though not exclusively, distinguish it into its characteristic classes. But it would be tedious even to enumerate, much more to examine, all the different divisions into which rural scenery may thus be distributed. I shall advert only to those of them, which chiefly interest the English improver; those which are characterized by associations of most powerful and permanent effect; associations, classic, or historic, personal or domestic. I shall do this with a reference, - always present to my own mind, though not always obtruded on my readers, - to these peaceful shades, whose embellishment was, for so many years of active life, the relaxation of all my anxiety and toil, and is now, in old age and infirmity, the cherished delight of my long wished for retirement. [46]

It was in this spirit that Grenville set to work on the drafts of what was to become *Dropmore.* Reading the *Essays* as they were published it seems curious that this should be the title. Very little of the text, apart from the poem with which they are prefaced, refers to that house or its landscape. The explanation is that Grenville had intended these essays not only to deal with general propositions about landscape, but to tie this in with a description of what he had done at Dropmore. He had sent Tom a summary of what remained to be done, to achieve this, by including a 'section dealing with 'the Quercetum, Pinetum, & on trees in general which I mean to come between the Boscobel Oak which is at the end of what you read here, & the conclusion to the honour of landscape gardening, & a Dropmore life.'[47] That these never appeared in the published *Essays* was for three reasons. First, he thought that section would be too large, as Tom had suggested, and not cover that topic properly if it was shortened. [48] Second, Grenville's health was faltering, and third, a rather rash attempt by Grenville to deal with all of that in verse. That Grenville never got round to describing his work at Dropmore deprives us of the kind of detailed account which appears in the 1813 correspondence with Anne in relation to the setting out of ground at Boconnoc. However, drafts of his ideas about such a section give a tantalising glimpse of what he might have covered.[49] There were to be three cantos: the gardens and drives, the prospect and the library. In the first canto he would cover the following headings: 'Domestic Plants; Hardy Exotics; The Green-house; Stoves; Rockwork; Pinetum; Pool; Cedar Walk; Acacia Walk; Dog's Tombs; ??? Baskets'. There are a few fragments which show how his verse was developing;

> Here towers aloft the lordly hollyhock,
> Here shine the larkspur' & the tulip's pride,
> Wall flowers, & stocks, & bright anemones

Of hues unnumbered, the gay-painted pea
Breathes forth her luscious spirit, here droops his head
Narcissus self-enamoured & [illegible]
Loved Hyacinth! with notes of woe [illegible][50]

Grenville's romantic attachment to plants and the classical references in their naming, such as Hyacinthus and Narcissus, was leading him away from dealing with the headings he proposed to cover, and it may be thought he was wise to give up the attempt to describe Dropmore in verse, (fig. 23). The only surviving product of these drafts is the poem that prefaces the *Essays*.

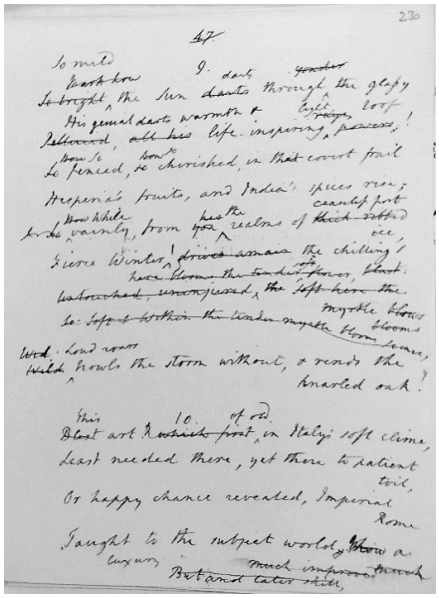

Figure 23; One of many pages revealing Grenville's struggle to describe his work at Dropmore in verse. © British Library. Add MS 69145 f. 230.

The pleasure he gained from reading and re-reading the great Classical writers is evident both from his text and also his adoption of Chatham's advice to Camelford when at Cambridge.[51] 'Such authors you cannot read too much….Drink deep of those divine springs'; the pleasure of the draught is equal to the prodigious advantages of it to the heart and morals'.[52] Grenville expresses his own respect for the Classics in this way; 'Of the classic character, in every application of that word, superior excellence is the one pervading quality'. [p.54].[53] Grenville could not resist adding the qualification to Chatham's advice that there was an incomparably purer source of ethics which he does not name but is, evidently, his Christian faith. No doubt, with his scholarly background and, to a large extent, confined to his library after his stroke of 1823, reviewing those masterpieces for the purpose of writing the *Essays* must have given him great pleasure as he faced 'the slope path of my declining age'. [*Poem* Stanza 1].

Reading the *Essays*, the skills of Grenville as a diplomatist should not be overlooked, In *Essay V* , he gives the landscape of Stowe unqualified praise, despite thinking 'To the architecture of some few among the buildings, with which the picture is perhaps rather too much crowded, just objection may be made'.[p.73]. It is likely that he was intent on cementing relationships in his family as he approached the end of his life. His 'fresh delight in the warm-hearted kindness of its inmates, in the love of a fond brother and an affectionate nephew',[54] whenever he returned to Stowe, glosses over the difficulties he had faced in his relationships with each of them.[55] [p.68]. He explains that he was writing for those who knew Stowe well, and the text therefore is focussed not on describing the buildings in detail, but in analysing the kinds of associations that these might trigger in the mind of a visitor.

Lurking within Grenville's extensive classical and historical references are several short and pithy notions. The most important of these is the extent to which association is the principle driver behind aesthetic pleasure and moral improvement. His debt to the philosopher Dugald Stewart in clarifying his ideas on this topic is confirmed by his reference to Stewart.[56][p.41]. 'In memory and judgement, in affection, passion, and purpose, one thought continually suggests another, and the present object recalls to us past occurrences and feelings.'Association is necessarily subjective. From Locke's first musings on the subject,[57] this proposition had become well established, by the time Grenville began making Dropmore in 1792 notably by Archibald Allison (1757-1839),[58]. Whilst the individual will become, to a considerable extent, conditioned by contemporaries and their times, their thoughts remain special to themselves. Then, as now, people may be impressed by the 'taste and genius' of Camelford as expressed in the Corinthian Arch at Stowe. Fewer, perhaps, would be reminded of the Ancient Greek Orders of Architecture and their place in Mediterranean history; and even fewer still, the triumphal arches raised to Roman Generals such as Titus and Constantine or of Domenichino's *Arch of the Allegories* of 1607-9. It would only be those who had known and loved Camelford to whom it would represent someone 'so justly dear' to them, [p.72], as it would to Grenville and Anne.

Because of this high degree of subjectivity, accessories may lose the power to prompt particular associations and, over time become symbols conjuring up other thoughts. To Grenville, the Temple of Concord and Victory at Stowe (fig. 24) fired up not only ideas about those two allegorical deities united by their worshippers but also 'historical recollections of hereditary interest' to his nephew, Buckingham. These were England's victories under Chatham and Earl Temple, both uncles to Grenville. [p.76]. It was Earl Temple who recast what started off under Cobham as a Grecian Temple to become a tribute to his relations. In the

absence of being told about this by a guide, the modern visitor is unlikely to have the slightest idea that these were the associations the building was intended to evoke; or indeed why the Seven Years War was so important in the lives of the Temple, Pitt and Grenville families. Nonetheless, standing there today, the building can still strike up associations for individuals. To those who have studied the life of Brown it may be the relationship of this building to the Grecian Valley which sets off a train of thought. For children who have attended Stowe as pupils, memories of their experiences may be revived.

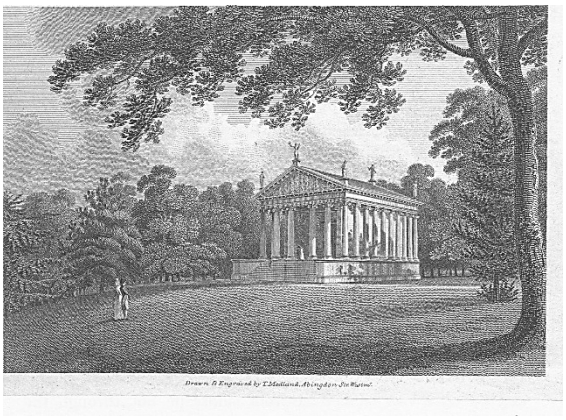

Figure 24; The Temple of Concord and Victory at Stowe as illustrated in *Dropmore*. T. Medland. © British Library.

Implied in the essays is that personal libraries of associations build up over time and become depleted when events are forgotten. Whilst a copy of the Pompeiian Seat of Mammea (fig. 25) would have had a resonance for him from his early days as a classicist at Eton, the memorials to and memories of his beloved dogs depended on their coming into his life, much later. It is unlikely that in his early life the images of plants in containers and on supports seen in the Buckler illustrations, *see* Appendix 6, would have meant anything to him at all.

Figure 25; The Seat of Mammea, as illustrated in *Dropmore*. © British Library

Grenville thought that accessories could deliver particular 'messages' to a wider circle than an individual but this was always subject to their capacity, and readiness, to receive them. For Grenville, the classification of gardens as being elegiac, iconic, emblematic or even for that matter 'picturesque', would appear to have had no value. His starting point was straightforward; all natural and made objects can prompt associations and that such associations lie at the heart of the 'delight' in landscape gardening.

He divided the purposes of improving landscape into two parts, 'equally distinct from each other, though often inseparably combined'. One is in the heightening of the character of the landscape, that is 'by enhancing by congenial embellishment the original expression of the scenery'. The second is to further improve it with a super-added layer of new features 'calling forth mental emotions such as it had previously no tendency to excite'. [p.40]. The *Essays* are heavily weighted toward discussion of this super-added layer rather than the first task of improving the physical qualities of the landscape into which the engines of association are to be installed, a field in which the Grenvilles excelled at both Dropmore and Boconnoc.

However, there can be no doubt of the importance he attached to the first part of an improver's work. Using the phrase 'genius of the place' more in the spirit of the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) ,[59] than the different gloss put on it by Pope in his Epistle to Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl Burlington (1612-1698),[60] he wrote;

> Great is the skill, and deserving of all praise, which, by "Consulting the genius of the place", brings out into more prominent effect its primary and characteristic beauties; which heightens the bewitching scenery of nature, makes her lawns more pastoral, her woodlands more forest-like, and clothes with a more romantic wildness her rocks and waterfalls; spreading over the whole brilliant composition one uniform and harmonious glow of resistless interest, and dignifying it in all its parts with an unbroken power of attracting and enchanting, of purifying and exalting the imagination! To undervalue such works would be "an injury and sullenness toward nature" herself. Both by its native beauties and its congenial adornments, the landscape thus embellished speaks to the heart with restless eloquence. [p.40].

Perhaps because of his characteristic reserve about his own achievements, and concern about the length of the *Essays* he does not explain how he went about his improvements at either estate, neither did he make any reference to the exercise of a sense of fun in making improvements. *See* Chapter 5. He makes no direct reference to Wotton or Boconnoc and refers to Dropmore itself only to explain how he wished its geography might have been rather different to provide a satisfactory picturesque effect with views to the 'silver winding way'[61]

of the Thames, [pp.15 & 18], and to describe the associative effect on his imagination from the seat of Mammea in its grounds. [p.63].

There are significant references to nature scattered through the text, as well as in Stanza II of the poem;

> … he who has once opened his heart to the voice of nature speaking from the landscape, will listen to it always with increased improvement and delight, in proportion as it is attuned to higher tones of intellectual and moral impression, more pathetic or more sublime emotions. [p.14].
>
> His [the poet's], like that of the painter and the improver, feels and cherishes the genuine taste, the enthusiastic admiration of nature…[p.19].
>
> The votary of this art [landscape gardening] is continually conversant with the finest scenes of nature. Her beauties it is his study to observe, his delightful task to call forth and to enhance. On whose heart, therefore can the great Creator's goodness be more irresistibly impressed? To the improver of these enchanting scenes it is given, above all other men, to enjoy the gay forms and bright colours of the garden, the fragrance and verdure of the spring, the autumnal dyes of the forest, and all this fair expanse and infinite variety of plains and mountains, woods and waters. In his patrimony is the whole "pomp and prodigality of nature"[62]. A countless, and measureless bounty, surpassing all power of language. [p.43].
>
> At Hagley, for instance, and at Stourhead, (fig. 26) the same course has been pursued with like success; and in these cases, no less than at Stowe, we feel the full force of such accessories, enhancing the fairest and most high-dressed scenery of Nature by a poetical interest super-added to all her other most attractive charms. [p.77].

Figure 26; Stourhead, The Bristol Cross and the Pantheon enhancing the high-dressed scenery of Nature. 2010. © Author.

Grenville saw association as being as important in the appreciation of nature as in the enjoyment of embellishments to it;

> …to different landscapes, and classes of landscape, there belong distinctive characters, tending by moral associations, to the same common end, the increase of human enjoyment. Such are the picturesque landscape, the classic, the romantic, the pastoral and others mentioned by Mr Knight. [p.48].

In *Essay I* he explores how painters can throw over their compositions some strong tint of moral colouring;

> the picture is thus still a landscape; a delineation of rocks and forests, plainns and mountains, delighting us with all the beauty and interest of bewitching scenery, and adding even to her charms a new lustre from the splendour and brilliancy of these rich accessories. It is still a landscape, but one glowing with the light and warmth of human life. It displays to us, in full force, and memorable example, the high actions and high passions of mankind, their origin, their operation and their result. It rouses into action some of our strongest and most vivid emotions, and disciplines the heart for the nobler feelings of religious and moral duty; the best fruits which ever can be reaped by man from the sublimity and beauty of the visible creation. [p.5].

After a brief mention of Nicholas Poussin's image of the funeral of the frugal and modest Athenian General Phocion, *Et in Arcadia Ego*,[63] Grenville justified this high-minded view of the qualities that painters can give to their 'landskips' by a detailed study of the characteristics of two paintings by Claude Gellée ('Lorrain') (c.1605-1682) he had seen at Longford Castle, Wiltshire and the classical associations they evoke. [pp.7-12]. These paintings, *Sea Coast with the Landing of Aeneas in Latium* (Morning – the rise of the Roman Empire) and a scene at sunset in the Roman Campagna, *Pastoral Landscape with the Arch of Titus* (Evening – the Decline of the Roman Empire) (fig. 27), and the titles given to them demonstrate Grenville's point. They are undoubtedly landscape scenes, Sea Coast and Pastoral Landscape respectively, but they have the super-added quality given to them by the inclusion of references to Aeneus and Titus conjuring up the story of the rise and fall of Rome. They had been depicted 'glowing with the light and warmth of human life', displaying to us 'in full force, and memorable example, the high actions and high passions of mankind, their origin, their operation, and their result'.[64]

Figure 27;. Left 'Morning'; Right 'Evening'. Claude Lorrain, 1644 © Longford Castle.

Grenville thought, in this respect, 'As in painting, so it is in landscape gardening'.[65] In both, the image conveyed through the physical senses could be improved in a way that rendered them 'productive of more extensive, or higher mental gratification to those who are capable of that enjoyment.' He would therefore have agreed with Price that the study of pictures could assist the landscape gardener in making the best of his materials. However, Grenville thought that help came in a quite different way to that suggested by Price. Price was concerned with the appearance of landscape; whether or not the scenes presented were 'picturesque' that is suitable to be painted. This he emphasised in a letter to Samuel Rogers:

> I also wish to have my revenge and to shew you (anch' io son pittore) a number of pictures I have been producing since you saw the place, working with the materials of nature; they are, as you may remember, most abundant; and I have endeavoured to form with them such compositions, from the foreground to the most distant objects, as would satisfy the eye of a judicious painter. I have had the satisfaction of seeing more than one excellent artist, and one of them [Lord Aylesford] extremely averse to have anything pointed out to him as a good subject for a drawing, take his stand exactly where I wished, and where I had secretly conducted him, and draw the composition as if he had discovered it himself, tale quale and con amore. This picture-making (you well know the delight of it in poetry) is a most amusing and interesting operation; it is, however, a very nice one, and the varied frame of each composition, itself an essential part, is to be studied almost to a twig. You remember, I dare say, a fanciful but ingenious idea, I forget whose, that in every block of marble a beautiful statue lay concealed, and that you had only to clear away the rubbish. It is the same, mutatis mutandis, in this place, and in every place of a similar kind; innumerable pictures are concealed, and I am endeavouring poco a poco to clear away what, after due deliberation, I judge to be rubbish. You have lately been viewing all that is most excellent in real and painted landscapes, and must come here and look at my operations and see whether I have followed the principles of the great masters of composition. [66]

Price saw himself as 'picture-making with the materials of nature',[67] but for Grenville the lessons to be learned from the study of paintings related to giving a place a super-added value by heightening the intellectual and moral impact of the scene as well as its beauty. In a draft about the nature of painting Grenville (fig. 28) wrote: 'Painting is the act of representing to the eye the images of visible objects, by lines and colours, and its end is to convey such impressions to the mind as it naturally receives from the objects represented. As far therefore as its powers extend it performs the same office as language ~~whether spoken or written~~. Words are the signs, universally, not only of all the impressions which the mind receives from them, but also of all its intellectual operations.'[68]

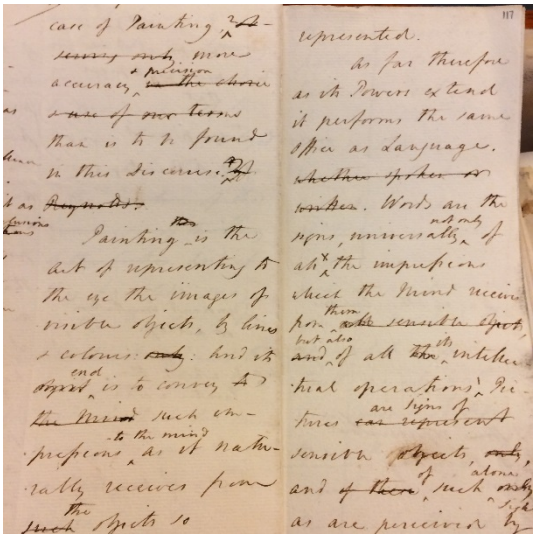

Figure 28; Draft notes by Grenville on painting as a language. © British Library. Add MS 69145. f. 117.

In *Essay II,* Grenville considers the capacity of the poet to be 'in the strictest sense an improver; an improver of every object, physical or moral over which he extends his irresistible enchantments', and how word 'pictures' can summon up wider ideas than paintings;

> His [the poet's] pictures, far superior to the material and perishable colouring of the painter, glow with the vivid imagery of thought and language. Set forth by his genius, their lights are more brilliant, their composition more attractive, and their moral interest and effect incomparably more exaulted. The forms which he "bodies forth" are truly "the forms of things unseen," clothed in such imaginary excellence as exists not in the real world; rich in "a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety", and in all things better suited to the higher aspirations of the soul of man.[69] [p.19].

As in his discussion of paintings, Grenville digs deep into Classical sources, as well as Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Dryden, Pope and Cowper to make his point in relation to poetry;

> [The Poet's] heart, like that of the painter and the improver, feels and cherishes the genuine taste, the enthusiastic admiration of nature; and like them also, but with far nobler effect, he exalts those high impressions by the still loftier sense of ideal excellence……His pictures, far superior to the material and perishable colouring of the painter glow with the vivid imagery of thought and language. Set forth by his genius, their lights are more brilliant, their composition more attractive, and their moral interest and effect incomparably more exalted' [p.19].

He cites phrases such as "How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon the bank" (Shakespeare - *Merchant of Venice*); and, "The sounds and seas with all their finny drove, Now to the moon in wavering morrice move" (Milton - *Comus*) to demonstrate that vivid imagery. [pp.26, 27].

Before leaving the subject Grenville turns to the work of historians, to whom he suggests one might think 'ornaments of an imaginative character wholly inapplicable'. To the

contrary he ventures 'to ascribe a character of high poetry to history herself, when she heightens, by similar means, her narratives of real life', 'when sober and chastened' rather than when it is 'feigned or romantic' [p.30]. To Grenville, deeply immersed in history as he was, 'an historian, if he aims at the fame of Tacitus must also be a poet.' [p.32]. He therefore offers a wider meaning to poetry, in the case of history, to embrace prose. It is a curious that he does not then follow the logic of his train of thought by any reference to prose fiction. Chaucer (*Canterbury Tales* c.1400), Bunyan (*Pilgrims Progress* 1678), Swift (*Gullivers Travels* 1726), Defoe, (*Robinson Crusoe* 1791) all published prior to Grenville. Each of those works can be said to 'glow with the vivid imagery of thought and language', as he claimed for poetry. [p.19]. The inference must be that Grenville, in the sequestered embrace of his library, did not consider such works to be worthy of serious study.

Just as the painter faces limitations in his expression not facing the poet, so the landscape gardener has to deal with greater limitations than the painter. Grenville deals with this in *Essay I*;

> But it is in this command [over the materials of his art] that the landscape gardener is most deficient; in this the painter, and still more the poet soar far above him. Much of the beauty which the improver conceives, much of that which he would most wish to realize, is utterly beyond his reach. The principle forms and objects of his landscape are already provided for him. To these he is almost exclusively confined. On these he must operate, but even on these he can operate only to a very limited extent. Were it otherwise, from the very features of the landscape here spread out before me, how beautiful, and how interesting a picture might be formed, could I work on it as those artists would, could I so heighten its graces, so to cover or obliterate its defects. But the landscape gardener has no such privilege. [p.15].

He continues by pointing out just some of the things he might alter, in the prospect from Dropmore, if that were in his power. Like Claude or Virgil he would have mature branching pines in the foreground, the 'distances' marked more clearly in the topography. He would raise the Surrey hills into Alps and Apennines, and have a real forest at Windsor, referencing Pope's *Windsor Forest*.[70] He would fix the sun as if in a summer sunset so that it would gild the 'turrets, pinnacles and spires' of Windsor and Eton. He would, by a painter or poet's magic, bid the Thames to rise up in its valley so he could see 'its silver winding way',[71] from his house and immediate garden as did John Denham (1614/5-1669) *From Cooper's Hill*.[72] He would then be able to trace its way from below Clifden [sic] and Taplow to Runnymead, Horton (for Milton's muse), Eton, Hampton, Richmond and Twickenham, each places with powerful associations for him.[73] But, he could not, and so contented himself by improving

Dropmore's natural appearance and adding associative elements to it. There is no evidence he applied 'picturesque principles' in making those improvements, or claimed to have done so.

Grenville quotes a passage from Abraham Cowley's (1618-1667) *Ode to Evelyn* describing Dioclesian's refusal to be recalled from his garden by ambassadors urging him take the throne again "If I, my friends, (said he,) should to you show/ All the delights which in this garden grow;/ T'is likelier much that you should with me stay,/ Than 'tis that you should carry me away." This echoes Grenville's own pleasure in rural life and recognition of agriculture 'as one of the most captivating of human occupations'. It also echoes his own relief on his abdication from the cares of office. To him, landscape-gardening offered greater gratification;

> But agriculture is allied, however honourably, to the pursuit of wealth. It is exposed therefore to corroding care and disappointment. Landscape-gardening is followed only for delight, for imaginative and intellectual delight'. [That gratification, for him, was not that of the idle observer but as a participant in the act of creation.] ….Let the improver say, - for who without that happy experience can speak on such subject? – how closely these endearing influences have bound him to the natural objects of his affections and regards: what fresh interest the gratifying results of this occupation have taught him to feel for all in whose society he had enjoyed them; for those in concert with whom, or by whose aid, even by whose manual aid, he has laboured to embellish his much loved fields and gardens; and for those to whom he may hope that they will in days yet to come be productive of similar delight.…. Such are the moral impressions derived from the improvement of all rural scenery; such are the emotions which in every case affects the well-constituted mind.'[p.48].

It may be thought that Grenville, as with Knight,[74] took an elitist view of the capacity of individuals to enjoy the full range of experiences to be enjoyed in landscape. 'Whenever, therefore, in these discussions we speak of the pleasures of landscape, whether natural or improved, we are describing its effects on minds trained by education and habit to pure taste and virtuous emotions. These only are the dispositions duly fitted for the impressions of rural scenery.' The proposition advanced by Grenville was not intended to promote exclusivity or dominance of a particular class but to understand the nature of the human mind and its dependency on association for the formulation of ideas. The most privileged of people, like the Grenvilles, did have wider opportunities through lifestyle, education, travel and cultural studies than those who were not so blessed, but his test depended not on position or class but on the extent to which any individual had been enabled to build a library of associations. John Clare (1793-1864) was the son of a farm labourer and had none of the privileges which attached themselves to the Grenvilles and yet he has been described as 'the greatest labouring-class poet that England has ever produced. No one has ever written more powerfully of nature, of a rural childhood, and of alienate and unstable self'.[75] In *Thoughts in a Churchyard* Clare

would show as much sensitivity and insight as the more learned Gray in his *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*. Two other contemporary examples of those who broke free from fairly humble origins but made their mark in the creation or appreciation of landscape are Brown and William Cobbett (1763-1835). Even to the best educated some associations might not be apparent. Grenville wrestled as to whether to leave out a reference to *et in Arcadia ego* since 'everybody may not be as familiar as yourself [Tom]' with the Poussin painting.[76]

Buildings in landscapes are the objects which can most easily conjure up associations as Grenville suggests in *Essays III -V*. Plants can also give rise to strong associations for individual people, by their look, their scents, the rustling of their leaves, their taste, or where they provide a remembrance of a person or a place.[77] However, these are usually personal and private associations which bypass a more general, collective response. Grenville describes the effect of buildings in this way;

> Of the many accessories which contribute to impress such characters [picturesque, classic, romantic, pastoral etc.] on the scenery of nature, none are of more powerful effect than its buildings, whether placed there for use or adornment, for shelter, enjoyment or display. These, in all their numberless varieties, lowly or aspiring, ancient or modern, original or imitative, serve always to change in some degree the previous impressions of the landscape, and shed over it new tints of superadded interest. All its features, native or adventitious, may indeed, as we daily experience, awaken by different associations, our social and virtuous emotions: but its buildings more especially contribute to clothe it with characteristic expressions and effect. They are memorials of human pursuits and manners, - results of human passions and desires. They moralize the picture, by setting before us the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of man, in all the different conditions of his life; and they continually call up to our remembrance the powers in industry and skill, science and taste, to which those motives successively give birth, in the appointed progress and improvement of society. [p.49]

Most eighteenth-century depictions of landscape gardens contain some images of buildings as the surest indicators of their identity. That has remained true from the earliest 'Landskips' through to modern digital publishing. Michael Symes has suggested 'A garden building often provided (as it still can) the most forceful and abiding memory of a garden'.[78] Taking the term 'garden building' to relate to any built structure or hard landscaping, this accords with Grenville's own view of the effect of 'accessories'.[79]Grenville's advocacy of the value of classic or classical associations in landscape in *Essay IV* led him to take issue with Knight's notion that these can only be derived from ruins:

> The decay and desolation of a building cannot be necessary ingredients of its classic character. The charm of ruins in the landscape, especially in English landscape, far, very far be it for me to undervalue. Cold is the heart which feels not the indescribable beauty, the appropriate interest of the war-shattered castles, the despoiled and

> dismantled abbeys of our native scenery! But it is by their picturesque and romantic, not by their classic associations, that these bewitching accessories speak to our heart. All the history, and all the poetry, with which they are so richly clothed, are exclusively of English growth. [p.56].

Put briefly, Grenville's view was that there is no associative value in a ruin outside its own locality. He saw no value in the reproduction of Classical ruins in the English landscape, England had her own. However, in Italy, he agreed, the scholar of the classics would admire the "beauty in death",[80] of the lifeless remains of Rome; lifeless, but still breathing the spirit of empire.' [p.58]. But, referring to Claude and Poussin, he suggests:

> The more perfect is the condition of the work, the more lively must ever be our sense, the more exalted our admiration both of its design and of its execution. Look for example to Claude; look to Poussin, the most classic of all painters! See how in large a proportion the architecture of both is at the same time perfect in condition, and in character exquisitely classic. [60].

He saw no harm in pastiche provided it was properly done. He wrote 'As in all the imaginative arts a just sense of the original productions of classic excellence expands and elevates the soul, so must a corresponding effect flow from every well-executed imitation of those admirable works' [66], adding;

> When borrowed decorations of Greek or Roman architecture are thus introduced into our modern parks and gardens, for the purpose of awakening in our minds the excitements of ancient art, they, like all other ornaments in whatever class of composition, may no doubt be too profusely multiplied or otherwise unskilfully employed. But in their tasteful and appropriate use, how truly classic is the character which they impress on landscape! [68].

That character is generally beautiful not picturesque, as Price helpfully explains: 'A temple or palace of Grecian architecture in its perfect state, and with its surface and colour smooth and even, either in painting or reality is beautiful; in ruin picturesque'.[81] He thus confirms that Grenville's preference was for the beautiful rather than the picturesque in buildings as also demonstrated in his formation of plantations.

In the *Essays*, Grenville does not attempt to define his view of taste as did so many of his contemporaries,[82] although he does refer to Camelford's Corinthian Arch for Stowe as 'That admirable monument of the taste and genius of him by whom it was designed'. [p.72]. However in his correspondence with Anne, *see* Appendix 2, he does make it clear what he thought to be an absence of taste, and the dangers of following pattern books.[83]

Grenville returns time and again to two simple themes; that the improvement of landscape for its own sake, is, like agriculture,[84] an inherently satisfactory pursuit, and super-

added to that can be added a layer of personal or public associations which give the landscape a heightened emotional impact. His ability to compartmentalise his subject is evident not only in the text of the *Essays*, but also in *Dropmore,* with which he prefaced them. The poem is divided into four stanzas. The first sets the scene 'Dropmore! my happy home; thrice blest abode / Of liberty and peace and well earned rest.'. The second describes the intrinsic value of nature at Dropmore and its setting with a 'prospect' over the 'tufted vale' to Windsor and Eton.[85] The third deals with associations and the way in which 'each spot [is] stamped with deep impress of the times forepast'. The last line of Stanza III introduces the fourth stanza which is a prayer to the Redeemer; this in a period when senior political figures were not shy of 'doing God'.[86] There can be little doubt that Grenville saw the hand of God in nature. Reflecting on Milton's 1645 *Allegro and Penseroso* he wrote;

> …who can be wearied with dwelling on Milton's poetry? Those admirable compositions are wholly of a descriptive character; and the objects which they bring before us are throughout associated with the feelings and passions of the human soul. They paint the enjoyments which, by Heaven's bounty, are poured out for man on every side, but especially in rural life. [p.28].

In summary, the *Essays* reveal the following aspects of Grenville's opinions about landscape:

- That the responses of individuals to landscape depend on the associations it invokes, those associations being determined from experience and education of that individual.
- That nature must be respected and 'listened to'.
- Other accessories add a layer of interest over and above natural features.
- That of all those natural features and accessories, buildings have the most powerful effect.
- That classic means things of superior excellence.
- That knowledge of classic qualities and associative ideas could be enlarged by a study of paintings (as with Price) but that poetry and history had a greater power to excite moral interest and emotion unconstrained by the limitations of painting.
- That the value of classical buildings in the English landscape depend not on mock ruins but them being built to the highest standards to represent the rise and golden ages of those countries, and not their decline and fall.
- That such buildings should not be over-used in a particular landscape.
- That ruins were only appropriate when they reflected English history in the English landscape, and in other countries the same proposition applies.

- Whilst agriculture and rural life are virtuous they are subject to the corrosive influence of the need to make money
- That landscape-gardening is pursued for delight alone.
- That delight in improvement lies not just in the visual realm but from all the senses, in participation in the making improvements and in the associations they invoke.

The way in which Grenville applied these propositions at Dropmore and Boconnoc will be considered in detail in the following Chapters. In summary; at Dropmore he applied himself to both of the two layers of improvement he describes; the enhancement of nature and the making of structures and other features to arouse associations. At Boconnoc on the other hand, to which, however fond of it they were, the Grenvilles made only occasional visits, the main effort was on the enhancement of nature. Such buildings as there are, with the exception of the Bath House and the Quarry Garden, were installed either earlier by Camelford or later by Fortescue (under Anne's influence until 1864).

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[1] Watkins, Charles and Ben Cowell, *The Letters of Uvedale Price* (London: Walpole Society, 2006) 310, Uvedale Price to Sir George Beaumont, 12 September 1824.

[2] The Register of Historic Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England, established in 1983, is maintained by Historic England.

[3] Laurent Chatel, ""Getting the Picture" of the Picturesque," *XVII-XVIII, Societe d'Etudes Anglo-Americaines*, 51, no. Novembre 2000; Min Wood, *The Search for Elysium; the Naturesque in England and Wales.* (Bristol University, 2010). Unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation.

[4] Curl, James Stephens and Susan Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture 3rd Edn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) Kindle edn. Loc. 49505.

[5] The specific places recommended to tourists where they might enjoy a picturesque scene *see* Thomas West, *Guide to the Lakes* (1778).

[6] Hereafter referred to as Gilpin to distinguish him from his nephew William Sawrey Gilpin.

[7] *See* the Grenvilles' observations on Blenheim [Chapter 3].

[8] Price, Uvedale, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; Revised* (London: J. Mawman, 1810), Vol. 1.

[9] Burke, Edmund, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Oxford University Press ed. (1757).

> Burke suggested the following qualities contributed to beauty: 1. Smallness [though this is difficult to apply in landscapes unless the downs of Boconnoc can be said to be small set against dramatic alps]. 2. Smoothness [which he saw as being the most considerable source of beauty]. 3. Having a Variety in the direction of parts. 4. Those parts not angular but melted into each other. 5. Delicacy, without any appearance of strength. 6. Having colours clear and bright without being glaring 7. If there are strong colours they should be diversified with others [e.g. as in a peacock's plumage]. Sects XII – XVII.

[10] Gilpin, William, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting.* (London: Blamire, 1792).

> Gilpin considered that a distinction should be established between 'such objects as are *beautiful,* and such as are *picturesque* – between those that please the eye in their *natural state*; and those, which please from some quality, capable of being *illustrated by painting.*' He saw the '*picturesque kind*' as being but one species of beauty. Having suggested that 'the appendages of tillage, and in general the works of men' should be excluded from that category he continued 'We leave then the general admirer of the beauties of nature to his own pursuits; nay we admire them with him; all we desire, is, that he would leave us as quietly in the possession of one source of amusement more.'

Gilpin followed the generally held view [later summarised in Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (London: Cadell, 1792, 1814, 1827). cited by Grenville in his *Essays*] that whether an object was or was not picturesque depended not only on the physical characteristics of the object but, crucially, on the eye of the spectator. i.e it was not an inherent quality in the object. While Gilpin questioned whether Burke was right to suggest Smoothness was the most considerable cause of beauty he recognised the importance of it and that is reflected in his illustrations of 'A Non-picturesque Mountain Landscape and a Picturesque Mountain Landscape'. *Essay I.*

[11] Watkins and Cowell, *Letters,* 264, Price to Lord Aberdeen (1784-1860), November 1816.

[12] Ballantyne, Andrew, *Architecture, landscape and liberty; Richard Payne Knight and the picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1997) 190.

[13] Price, Uvedale, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Robson, 1794).

[14] Payne Knight, Richard, *The Landscape, a Didactic Poem in Three Books. Addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq* (London: Nicol, 1794). Republished in an expanded edition in 1795.

[15] Repton, Humphrey, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening, Translated from the 1795 French Edition.* (Paris: Connaissance et Memoires, 2006), 63, fn for Rudding Hall, Yorkshire.)

[16] Payne Knight, *The Landscape,1794,* notes to a revised edition, at Andrews, *Sources and Documents*, Vol. II,179-188, Book I, Notes 11, 2 to Lines 215, 221.

[17] Repton, Humphry, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (London: W. Bulmer for J & J Boydell, 1794). Reproduced in facsimile ed. Dixon Hunt (Paris: Connaissance et Memoires, 2009)

[18] In different editions the notes were formatted in different ways. The entries marked v. referring to different lines are taken from Payne Knight, *The Landscape,* (London: Nicol, 1794). For convenience, those in brackets refer to lines and notes from what is referred to as Payne Knight, *The Landscape,1794,* at Andrews, *Sources* Vol. II, 179-188, in case the reader uses that as a source.

[19] Williamson, Tom, and David Brown, *Capability Brown and the Capability Men; Landscape Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016); Andrews, Malcolm, *The Picturesque: Sources and Documents*, 3 vols. (East Sussex: Helm, 1994); Mowl, Timothy*Gentlemen and Players* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing 2000).

[20] Walpole, Horace, *On Modern Gardening* (London: Walpole Press, 1770).

[21] Repton, Humphrey, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor, 1806), 25-126.

[22] Wood, *The Search for Elysium*, 73-80. It is necessary to have a word to describe the development of a landscape through a process of negotiation with nature over time. It could be described as an organic process, but that word today has a generally accepted meaning applied to a form of husbandry and the foodstuffs which result. The term 'Naturesque' has been used by the author as it has a generic relationship with words such as Picturesque, Pittoresque, Gardenesque, Grotesque, Tudoresque, Romanesque etc. indicating the primary characteristic of the object or process referred to. It has been accepted as a legitimate description of that process by the editors of the *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture,* 3rd edn. If there is a more appropriate word to describe this process it has yet to be suggested.

[23] Curl and Wilson, *Dictionary*, Kindle edn. Loc. 44875. Following the Author in The Search for Elysium.

[24] Wordsworth, William, *The Prelude; 1805 Version;* (Rydal Mount: Mary Wordsworth, 1805), Book Eleventh, Imagination, How Impaired and Restored, lines 154-163; 170-175

[25] Wood, *The Search for Elysium*, 58-61.

[26] This practice is today something more than Wild Gardening as described by Robinson at the end of the nineteenth-century. He wrote "Many reviewers of the book did not take the trouble necessary to see its true motive, and some of them confuse it with the picturesque garden, which may be formed in many costly ways, whereas the idea of the wild garden is placing plants of other countries, as hardy as our hardiest wild flowers where they will flourish without further care or cost." Robinson, William, *The Wild Garden, 4th Edition* (London: Murray, 1894).

[27] Hollway-Calthrop, H. C., *Petrarch; His Life and Times* (London: Methuen 1907), 163 where he refers to his 'Transalpine Helicon'.

[28] Addison, Joseph, "The Pleasures of the Imagination," *The Spectator*, 1712.

[29] Felus, Kate, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden; Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* (London: I B Tauris, 2016).

[30] Fryer, Hazel, "Humphry Repton's Commissions in Herefordshire: Picturesque Landscape Aesthetics," *Garden History*, 22, no. 2 (1994), http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1587025.

[31] Matthews, John, *A Sketch from the Landscape* (London: Faulder, 1794).

[32] Chatel, Getting the Picture; Wood, *The Search For Elysium*., *see also* the definitions included in Curl and Wilson, *Dictionary*.

[33] William Gilpin to Sir Joshua Reynolds 2nd May 1791. Andrews. *Sources* Vol II, 19.

[34] Hussey, Christopher, *The Picturesque, Studies in a Point of View.* (London and New York: Putnam, 1927).
[35] Ross, Stephanie, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[36] Hunt, John Dixon, *Gardens and the Picturesque* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press 1992), 291.
[37] Payne Knight, *The Landscape,* (Nicol) 188-193.
[38] Gray, Thomas, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (London: Dodsley, 1751).
[39] Payne Knight, *The Landscape,* (Nicol) lines 317-376.
[40] Ballantyne, *Architecture*, 233.
[41] Grenville, William Wyndham, *Dropmore*, *Short Essays on Landscape*, British Library, Shelfmark G3241*. This copy was from Tom's library, Although the text refers to an appendix, none is bound into it.
[42] Ibid. In pages 68-77, Grenville gives special attention to Stowe.
[43] Harvey, A. D., *Lord Grenville; a Bibliography*, *Meckler's Bibliographies of British Statesmen* (New Jersey: Meckler, 1989), 43.
[44] CBS D/56/1, Grenville to Tom, ff.58-80, 26 January 1830 to 2 February 1831.
[45] Ibid., f.55 [1828]
[46] Grenville, *Dropmore,* 50. All following citations from the *Short Essay'* will contain the page number at the end.
[47] CBS D56/1, f.64, Grenville to Tom, 23 February 1830.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Grenville, William Wyndham, Drafts of 'Dropmore, a Descriptive Poem', 1830, BL Add MS 69145, f.200 et seq.
[50] Ibid., f.222.
[51] These letters were in Camelford's papers in the Dropmore Collection and were edited and published by Grenville, omitting references he thought inappropriate. *See* Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham Pitt, ed. *Letters Written by the Late Earl of Chatham to His Nephew Thomas Pitt, Esq (Afterward Lord Camelford) Then at Cambridge.*, ed. Lord Grenville (London: T. Payne, 1804).
[52] This perhaps taken from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 1709, 'drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring'
[53] For convenience, the page numbers from which quoted references in *Dropmore* have been taken are indicated in square brackets.
[54] The character of both of these men is summarised in their entries in historyofparliamentonline.org . [Accessed 18.6.2018].
[55] The tension between Grenville and Buckingham is noted at Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 462.
[56] The great achievement of Dugald Stewart, the Scottish philosopher (1753 – 1828), lay not in the generation of new philosophical ideas but in the encapsulation of the work of all who had gone before him. In 1815, Grenville had not met Dugald Stewart but, despite his respect for Stewart's work, took issue with him by letter, through Francis Horner about a reference in Stewart's Dissertation that Locke had been 'Expelled' from Oxford. Stewart had this erroneous idea from Fox. Grenville cared deeply not only for the reputation of Locke but also that of Oxford and Christ Church. In fact, Locke had been studying there under Royal patronage and Charles II having taken against him and ordered support to be withdrawn. The University and the College remained neutral about Locke's position. However Grenville, in seeking to salvage the reputation of both, explained his respect for Stewart when publishing their correspondence on the subject in 1829, the year after Stewart's death. 'What a labour it would have been, how overwhelming to himself, but to the great mass of his readers how gratifying, if, with the same minute and accurate research [that he bought to his *Dissertation*], the same depth of thought, and perspicuity of language he could have proceeded to trace the various, but still advancing course of the ethical and political philosophy of the last and the present age, not only in our own country, but throughout every part of Europe! All must lament, - but who can wonder? - that under the infirmities of advancing age, such a task was not brought to its destined termination. Nor is it a small consolation to us, under such a loss, to know that it was the abandonment of that sanguine undertaking which enabled Mr Stewart, before his useful life had ceased, to complete the ablest, the most eloquent, and most important of all his works, his *Philosophy of the active and moral Powers of Man* (1828). On that interesting and beautiful account of our moral, as distinguished from our intellectual nature, some of his latest days, we are told, were still occupied. And what fitter employment could he have found for such a season? What nobler legacy could he have bequeathed in his dying moments, to his country and mankind? Lord William Wyndham Grenville, *Oxford and Locke* (London: John Murray, 1829). Grenville was to be a subscriber to Stewart's monument on Calton Hill, Edinburgh.
[57] Locke, John, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: Thomas Basset, 1690).
[58] Alison, Archibald, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1790).
[59] Ashley-Cooper, Anthony, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times.* (London: 1711).
[60] Alexander Pope, ed. *Epistle to Lord Burlington, on Taste*, ed. William Warburton, *The Works of Alexander Pope: Moral Essays* (London: Knapton, 1731). *See* also Chapter 5
[61] Gray, Thomas, *On a Distant Prospect of Eton College,* London, 1847.

[62] This quote which is unattributed in Grenville's text would seem to be his own reworking of 'Pomp and prodigality of Heaven' from Thomas Gray, *Stanzas to Mr Bentley*. London. 1755.
[63] Poussin took the idea for the painting from Plutarch's Life of Phocion, 75 AD, a modest and honest Athenian General who was falsely accused of treason, executed and so cremated outside the city walls.
[64] Grenville *Dropmore.,* 5.
[65] Ibid.,13.
[66] Uvedale Price to Samuel Rogers, from Foxley, 25 May 1823. Clayden.
[67] Watkins and Cowell, *Letters*, 141. Uvedale Price to Sir George Beaumont 10 January 1820.
[68] BL Add MS 69145, ff.116v, 117.
[69] The quotations are taken from Bacon, *Advancement of Learning.* 1605.
[70] Alexander Pope, *Windsor Forest* 1704 &1713.
[71] The river Thames as described by the poet John Denham, *Cooper's Hill* (London: Moseley, 1642).
[72] Grenville, *Dropmore*, 15.
[73] It may be from a misreading of this passage that EVB understood that Grenville to have made his way to laze on 'One Tree Hill' when at Eton. The 'fondly remembered scenes of boyish sports and studies' is clearly intended to refer to Eton and Windsor.
[74] Payne Knight, Richard, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London: T. Payne, 1805), Ch. 2, para. 12. As all the pleasures of intellect arise from the association of ideas, the more the materials of association are multiplied, the more will the sphere of those pleasures be enlarged. To a mind richly stored, almost every object of nature or art, that presents itself to the senses, either excites fresh trains and combinations of ideas, or vivifies and strengthens those which existed before; so that recollection enhances enjoyment, and enjoyment brightens recollection.
[75] Bate, Jonathan, *John Clare* (London: Picador, 2003).
[76] Grenville, Letters from William Wyndham Grenville to His Brother Thomas, 179-1833, D56/1, f.62
[77] Three examples may be given. First, Grenville's own 'Birthday Oak'. Second, the Earl of Mornington's failed attempt to bring back to Grenville 'bays' [Laurels] growing at Virgil's supposed tomb in 1796, Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol Ii*. pp 9 & 119. Third, a negative association, Anne's rejection of a cutting of a willow from Napoleon's first tomb on St Helena sent to her by Fortescue in 1859. 'I did not throw away your willow as you had sent it. (tho' I was rather tempted to do so) But you must carry it off for I cannot be a party to the odious folly of a sentimental plantation from the empty tomb of that scourge of humanity'. BL Add MS 69050, f.130.
[78] Symes, Michael, "The Importance of Fabriques," *Garden History,* 45, no. 1 (2017).
[79] To illustrate this point one could take at random from the bookshelf *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*.[79] There are no less than 181 plates of pictures and plans in the book. Only 12 show no element of built fabric, and of those, only one, a photograph of trees in the park at Petworth, can be said to of a garden in a wider sense,. The others are of general scenery, real or imagined, and not gardens.
[80] Rogers, Samuel, *Italy* (London: Murray, 1823)
[81] Price, Uvedale, *A Response to Gilpin's Essay 'on Picturesque Beauty' Appendix to Essays on the Picturesque. Volume I* (London: Mawman, 1810).
[82] For example: Alison, *Taste,* ; Edmund Burke, *Introduction on Taste to the 2nd Edition of a Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Dodsley, 1759); David Hume, *Four Dissertations - of the Standard of Taste* (London: Millar, 1757); Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*; Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening*.
[83] BL Add MS 58873, f.132, Grenville to Anne, 20 September 1813, *see* Appendix 2.
[84] Grenville, however, notes 'But agriculture is allied. However honourably, to the pursuit of wealth. It is exposed therefore to corroding care and disappointment. Landscape-gardening is followed only for delight, for imaginative and intellectual delight. Grenville, *Dropmore*, 47.
[85] A prospect was something quite different from a picturesque scene. In the plate 'Windsor &c From Below The Gravel Mount 1829' for *Dropmore*, the artist has contrived a picturesque scene for the purpose of his illustration by the inclusion of the two pollarded trees to allow a foreground, a middle-distance and a distance (as recommended by Gilpin) but if they are subtracted from the image there would be nothing picturesque about the prospect at all.
[86] Alastair Campbell interrupting an interview with Prime Minister Blair in 2003 'We don't do God'.

Chapter 3. Dropmore

Most important agricultural estates have been formed round, or near, pre-existing houses of some significance. The Dropmore estate was conjured up by Grenville from a small cottage and its yard set in only a few acres of land. It was not put together to emphasise status, nor to be the fulcrum of a large agricultural estate, but was to be a home, somewhere to engage the Grenvilles' wish for privacy and indulge their own whims and fancies. Its development occupied Grenville for 42 years and was left by him to be finished by Anne. During that time, as far as the landscape was concerned, there was no master plan or other grand design, only an intermittent process of balancing their practical and aesthetic objectives with their means and the constraints imposed by nature. The result was described by Samuel Rogers in July 1831;

Grenville, to thee my gratitude is due
For many an hour of studious musing here,
For many a day-dream, such as hovered round
Hafiz or Sadi; thro' the golden East,
Search where we would, no fairer bowers than these,
Thine own creation; where, called forth by thee,
'Flowers worthy of Paradise, with rich inlay,
Broider the ground,' and every mountain-pine
Elsewhere unseen (his birth-place in the clouds),
His kindred sweeping with majestic march
From cliff to cliff along the snowy ridge
Of Caucasus, or nearer yet the Moon)
Breathes heavenly music. - Yet much more I owe
For what so few, alas! can hope to share,
Thy converse; when among thy books reclined,
Or in thy garden chair that wheels its course
Slowly and silently thro' sun and shade,
Thou speak'st, as ever thou art wont to do,
In the calm temper of philosophy;
- Still to delight, instruct, whate'er the theme.[1]

In 1987 about 350 ha of the former Dropmore Estate was entered in *The Historic England Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest*, as Grade II*. (fig. 20). The building of Dropmore House, pictured here as it was in 1818, provided the rationale for the accumulation of a wider estate. (fig. 30)

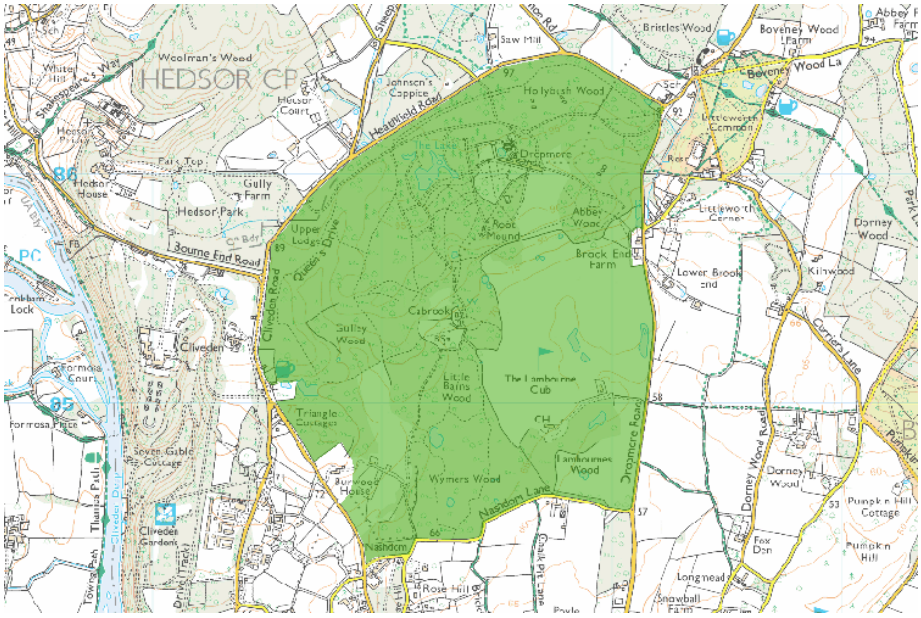

Figure 29; The Map of the Registered Landscape, Dropmore. Registered 1987 © Historic England.

Figure 30; Dropmore March 24th 1818. J C Buckler, Add MS 36358 f. 45v © British Library

Part 1. Dropmore to 1801[2]

It was one of Grenville's sisters, Lady Williams Wynn (1754-1830), perhaps with a greater insight into his thoughts than the over-weaning Buckingham, who alerted him to the possible sale of Dropmore Hill. It was small, just 30 acres, and the house, such as it was, required replacement. The stock consisted of just 2 cows, 3-4 heifers and one small cart.[3] In particular, as if he could not see this for himself, he was warned by his solicitor, a local man, that 'If your Lordship thinks it worth your notice the whole of the common is a dry gravelly healthy soil, but not fertile, nor will exotics very spontaneously grow there.'[4] It was the antithesis of what Buckingham thought appropriate for a family member and Grenville had carefully avoided

bringing him into a discussion about it. This may explain a rather peevish letter from Buckingham on the 6 December;

> I had heard from Tom of your Burnham purchase. I fear, from your account of it that it is hardly extensive enough in land, which I hold to be an object to you, as 3000*l*. will hardly give you there more than about 70 acres; and I should fear that, whenever you resided there *permanently,* you would feel cramped with a domain so small. As to a house I am sure that you will do better by adding occasionally (though upon a regular plan) *as you want room*, than by purchasing a large and perhaps ill-arranged house.[5]

An Unprepossessing Property

It is difficult to imagine a less prepossessing property. Apart from the poor quality of the soil and the inadequacy of the house, the parish boundary between Hitcham and Burnham ran through it, complicating dealings with such issues as manorial rights. There was crossroads very close to the house. It would be necessary to obtain some of the common land to the north of the house, in Hitcham Parish, to make the project at all worthwhile. There was confusion about the ownership of this common land, and no agreement had been reached between those who had common rights about the future of the larger area that also remained to be inclosed. In addition, the title to the property was questionable. Some of the owners and tenants of properties Grenville wished to incorporate in his estate were intransigent and at the time of his purchase there was no certainty that he would ever be able to break out from those initial 30 acres.

The making of a substantial estate at Dropmore involved Grenville in almost every kind of real property transaction. These involved outright purchases, leases, reversions, copyholds, licences and exchanges. At no time did Grenville have a freehold in possession over the whole of the estate he accumulated. At Dropmore and, later, on the Pitt estates, Grenville showed an astonishing ability to juggle with real property transactions of different kinds. Because of his parliamentary background, he also had command of both parliamentary and local procedures in relation to inclosures, highways and Church land.

It was not as if this was an opportunity to obtain a dilapidated property in an otherwise well-ordered area. The adjacent Cliveden was in decline, in spite of its earlier history as the glittering palace for George Villiers (1628-1687), 2nd Duke of Buckingham [of the 2nd creation] and later a summer home of Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751). The elaborate gardens, which had been laid out by Bridgeman, had been allowed to decay by the 3rd Countess of Orkney (c.1721-1790). The house burned down in 1795 and was not to be rebuilt until 1830. Grenville would therefore have no grand neighbour on the Taplow side. As for

Hitcham Manor, with its Tudor fishponds, long gone were the days when Queen Elizabeth I could be entertained there, and by 1792 it had passed through numerous hands ending up with the Friend family as the largely absentee landlords from whom Grenville bought his initial purchase at Dropmore. The Inclosure Award of 1779 relating to Hitcham Common had not yet been implemented, presumably because of the poor quality of the land. To the east there was the great expanse of Burnham Beeches. Dropmore never had the grandeur, either in architecture or formal design, of Cliveden but the creation of Dropmore was a decisive step in the making of the wider landscape of Burnham, Hitcham, Littleworth and Taplow as it appears today.

It would be wrong to assume that the land north of Burnham, through what is now Dropmore to Littleworth Common, was an empty landscape of heathland. That is the romantic view made popular by Eleanor Vere Boyle (1825-1916) publishing as EVB; 'On a bright June day in the latter half of the [eighteenth-century] the sun streamed down upon a wild upland moor on a spur of the Chilterns; One Tree Hill they called it. The brown heath was just beginning faintly to flush with pink the hillside slope, and in the still, sun-warmed air few sounds save the singing of larks disturbed the silence.' That this idea had entered the mythology some time before she wrote is clear from an entry in the Dropmore visitor's book by 1st Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (1786-1880) in 1870, quoted by her. 'Once a bleak common with a single tree, Dropmore is now the lovely spot you see.' Grenville himself rather over-egged his description: 'a bleak and barren spot where…neither tree nor shrub and scarce a blade of grass could be seen'.[6] There was indeed an area of poor heathland, but quite apart from areas of woodland to the south of what is now the house, there was Burnham Beeches to the East. Thomas Gray wrote to Horace Walpole about these. 'Both vale and hill are covered with most venerable beeches, and other very reverend vegetables, that like most other ancient people, are always dreaming out their old stories to the wind'.[7] The early cartographic maps by Jeffries and Bryant of Buckinghamshire in 1770 and 1825 respectively, indicate there were significant areas of woodland, in addition to the open heathland, in the general vicinity of Dropmore. (fig. 31).

Figure 31; Maps of Buckinghamshire, showing Dropmore. Left, T. Jeffries 1770. Right, A. Bryant 1825. © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

The more accurate mapping in tithe and inclosure maps confirms that this was indeed the case. (fig. 32).

Figure 32; Left, Hitcham Inclosure Award 1779. Right, Burnham Tithe Map 1841 © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

EVB, writing in 1900, appears to have over-stated the bleakness of the area. The Hitcham Inclosure plan shows the immediate area purchased by Grenville in 1792 did in fact enjoy some degree of tree cover (fig. 33), as also seems to be suggested by contemporary engravings of Dropmore House. The existence of some fine oak trees on the gravelly heath in former years was established when digging for gravel at Dropmore in 1796 revealed substantial trees, evidently thrown by a storm, preserved in a peat-like layer.[8]

Figure 33; Detail from the Hitcham Inclosure Award 1779. © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

n.b. There is no notation on this for land in Burnham Parish, lower left in the image.

The sort of vegetation likely to have been on Hitcham Common before the inclosure can still be seen in the areas of Littleworth Common, north of Dropmore, which remain relatively open. (fig. 34)

Figure 34; An open area on Littleworth Common, 2012. © Author.

The SSSI designation of 1983 suggests much of the open heath has been overtaken by self-sown tree species, due to an absence of grazing, as seen in the background.

Despite these shortcomings, Dropmore had distinct advantages for Grenville. It was reasonably close to Windsor, some 12 km away, and therefore a distant view, as is fairly represented in Buckler's drawing (Appendix 6, page 3, fig 18), although one reinforced by his sense of association. It was, demonstrably, not grand. With a shrewd eye for land assembly,

which he would later also show in dealing with the Pitt estates, he was confident there would be opportunities for expansion, not least by exploiting the unimplemented inclosure of Hitcham Common, and by taking in neighbouring farms, possibilities that Robert Charsley (1742-1813), a local solicitor in Beaconsfield, carefully explored for him. Dropmore Estate would grow during his lifetime to over 2600 acres. The very poverty of the land would give him the opportunity to show his ability to work with nature to improve landscape. This also meant the land was cheap, and as Charles Hamilton (1704-1786) had done at Painshill after 1738, he would develop techniques for taming it.[9]

With these maps in mind it is useful to compare the Dropmore site with that at Chalfont, rejected by Grenville. No doubt with the best of intentions, his eldest brother suggested the purchase of that smart estate. This was almost certainly Brudenells, now known at Chalfont Park, by the river Misbourne in Chalfont St Peter, since a completion of the sale of this property can be shown to have taken place 1794.[10] The idea was sufficiently the subject of family conversations that Camelford dropped in to have a look at it on his way from Stowe. He reported to Grenville;

> We saw Chalfont in our way & without suspicion, so you may easily know the genuine opinion which seemed very favourable. My only doubt is from its low situation & the meadows round it whether it is wholesome. Those who have lived in it can only satisfy you as to its being dry, & free from gnats.[11]

However, for Grenville it had three significant disadvantages. It was expensive, £6000.00 for the house alone; it had grounds laid out by Brown whose work he would come to loathe; and it was the work of others and not his own. As eldest brothers sometimes do, Buckingham offered financial support for the purchase but this evaporated when Grenville settled on the purchase of Dropmore Hill.[12]

The Purchase and First Steps to Improvement

Grenville's enthusiasm for his new-found property, and confidence that he would win Anne as a bride, is evident from his correspondence with her in Rome in the winter of 1791. On December 12 he wrote;

> I am in treaty for a small house near Taplow; but it is so mere a cottage that if I make the purchase I must add something to the house immediately, and this discourages me a little, from the fear I have of entering into bricks and mortar.

And in January he told her;

> I have completed the purchase of the cottage…And I am going down to take possession of it in a few days. It is so literally a cottage (having originally been inhabited by a labourer, as such) that I must make some small addition to it in order to make it at all inhabitable; and even then the house will be a very bad one. I think you will be pleased with the situation when you see it, though I know Lord Camelford will think it a great deal too exposed. I do not think that a great objection, being compensated, as it is, by the advantages of air and prospect.

On 26 February he revealed his pleasure in the acquisition and his expectation of the coming marriage;

> I am more and more delighted with my purchase in Bucks, and have already begun upon the small addition I am making to the cottage. I shall be much disappointed if you are not pleased with the spot, though perhaps it would be more prudent in me not to puff it to you too much. My builder does not seem to comprehend why I am so very anxious that the additional rooms should be habitable in the course of a few months. Can you help him to guess.[13]

However, much as Grenville may have been 'a town mouse', living with his brother Tom in St James's until he took possession of Dropmore, there is no doubt that gardening was very much in the forefront of his mind. Before all the obstacles to a purchase had been overcome, or his title to the property finally established, he had engaged a gardener and planned to have a kitchen garden with the necessary cottage for him. His solicitor, Charsley, wrote;

> I hear your Lordship's intention is to make your kitchen garden on Mr Friend's land & to build a gardener's house. Please to excuse me in the liberty I take to say that 16 years is a short term for that business & would it not be more to your Lordship's interest to ask Mr Friend to sell your Lordship one or two acres of that land next you, which will include Youngs Cottage, if not leave must be asked to pull the cottage down.[14]

The gardener was already at work planting some trees to hide an adjacent cottage (which Grenville later managed to have removed).[15]

Efforts at Dropmore in the period up to 1801 concentrated on establishing a mansion house with Samuel Wyatt (1737-1807), planting to blot out unwanted views, and making the core of an estate. The first phase of building work continuing to 1797 with further activity in, 1806, after which Charles Tatham (1772-1842) took over as architect. The new house incorporated part of the footprint of the old 'cottage'.[16] Getting control of Hitcham Common was an early priority and Grenville forged on with this despite discouragement from Charsley;

> so great a proportion of the common, however conveniently situated, cannot from its poverty (speaking of that part which adjoins Wooburn in particular) serve but to foil

> your lordship's future hopes - as it is not capable of raising a clothing sufficient to hide its infirmities. [17]

Not only did Grenville manage to gather the common land into his growing estate, he was to improve it beyond Charsley's expectations.

Burnham Historians have pointed to the acquisitions by Grenville in those early years in order to expand his Dropmore Estate, notably Britwell Court in 1794, the Rector's land in Hitcham Upper Heath in 1795/6, negotiations to buy Cabrook Farm in 1795 and, in the same year, the rehousing of families at Hitcham New Town, which he built for them to release their cottages either for demolition or for use by his own staff. Brook End Farm remained subject to a tenancy which was to remain until the 1920s.[18] In 1797 he purchased the Hitcham Estate from Mr Friend. A fuller study of Grenville's land transactions has been made by A. H. Packe, [19] but the process of land assembly outside the envelope of Registered Landscape is not relevant to this thesis as there is no evidence of the Grenvilles looking outside that envelope to make significant landscape improvements. Suffice it to say that on Grenville's own estimation he controlled 1450 acres by 1811.[20] By 1815 the wider estate had grown to 2,600 acres, if reversions are included.

However, right up to 1801 roads would run past the house and through what were to become its grounds. These could not be diverted without an order of the Justices sitting in Quarter Sessions. The outcome of such proceedings was by no means a foregone conclusion. The key to a successful re-routing lay not only in meeting the legal test of providing a route which was more commodious to the public,[21] but also in securing the consent of other people who might be affected, including other landowners over which the new route was to run. It was in framing their proposals to meet these tests that Grenville and his advisers were highly effective. The extent to which the emerging mansion was hemmed in by these roads is evident from the maps showing the proposed changes.The first of these roads, that running East/West immediately to the north of the new house,.was 'turned', as the expression went, by an order in 1797. That (fig. 35)

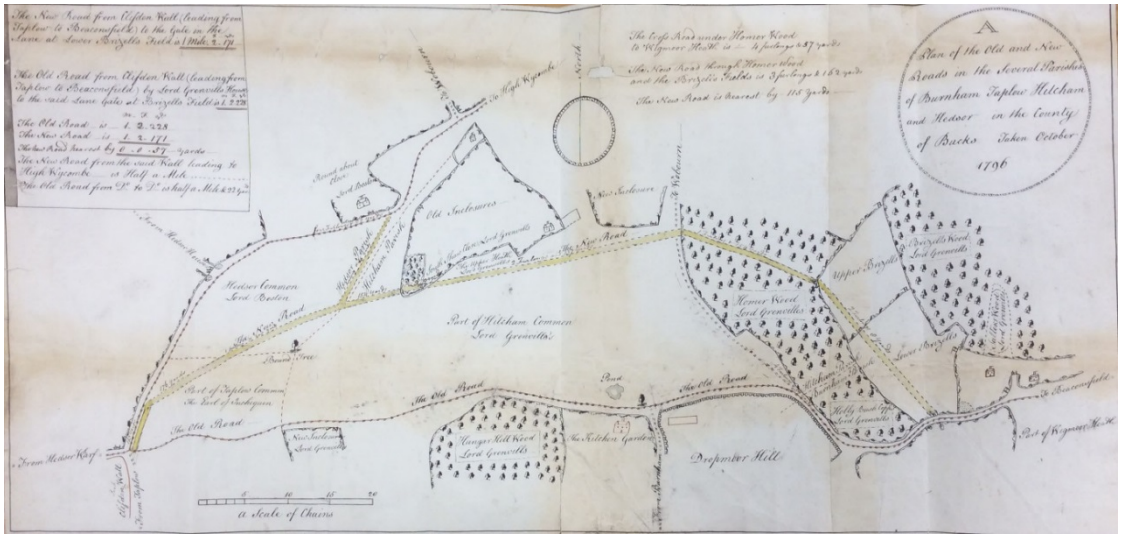

Figure 35; Stopping Up Order 1797 CBS Q H 13 © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

The road to be stopped up is shown by the dotted line. The house is represented by a simple rectangle. The new route is shown in yellow on the plan.

That still left the mansion separated from its kitchen garden by the North South route. It is not surprising that, free from government office in February 1801,[22] Grenville would, by July, have taken steps to remove that route as well. (fig. 36)

Figure 36; Stopping Up Order 1801 CBS Q H 16 © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

The road to be stopped up is shown in brown on the plan. The new route, in red and blue, takes advantage of the earlier 1797 diversion. The house was now represented with its characteristic bays.

With this, Grenville had pulled off the second of his key objectives. Had he been unable to acquire the common or divert the roads it is unlikely that he would ever have been able to create such a remarkable landscape as a setting for his new house.

After his marriage on July 18 1792, the Grenvilles made a round of visits to friends and relations throughout the summer months.[23] In the autumn work began in earnest on creating their new country home and its setting. Buckingham bombarded Grenville with offers of everything from trees and shrubs to sheep and chickens. The letters from Buckingham to Grenville indicate that from the outset, a significant amount of planting took place, Buckingham recommending the planting of "*scotch fir-larch* and Stone pine as a nurse for birch and beech":[24]

> October 7 1792
> You do not talk in your letter of any stay at Dropmore, and Woodward is anxious not to risk planting so early, and therefore I say nothing to you about your plants from my nursery till the last week of October.
>
> October 30 1792
> Not having heard of you for near a month, I should not have known of your destination or arrangements if the newspapers had not informed me that you was returned to Dropmore; in consequence of which I have this day marked out an assortment of 2,000 beech, and about 500 other trees, which will be ready on Saturday night and proceed on Monday in a cart which will reach you on Tuesday. I am sorry the quantity of elms and birch is so small, but my great alteration on the west side of the house has already swallowed up so many that my nursery s much stripped; but another season will increase my stock, and your works will probably last beyond that period.
>
> November 8 1792
> I am very glad that the plants arrived safe, and, though I feel hurt at the real insignificancy of a parcel so very young, yet I am not sure but that in some parts of your hill the extreme youth of the plants will give them a better chance. You positively forbid the whole tribe of firs, or I could have increased my bundle with them. But I take it for granted that you do not proscribe them in your plantation, because, in the very shallow soil of your hill the Scot fir - larch and stone-pine will be your best friends, and will nurse the birch and beech to which you must trust. We had a great question whether to send fowls and birds for your good woman, but we voted that your buildings were not sufficiently advanced. If, however, she has the means of disposing of them, I will contrive to send some.
>
> November 25 1792 Stowe
> I forgot to ask you whether your good woman has any room for the birds which we promised to supply? If she has a place for them my chaise is a good higler's [pedlar's] cart to bring them, and some poultry if she likes them.

One of the most interesting passages in that correspondence is the reference to 'You positively forbid the whole tribe of firs'. This may be explained by an initial aversion to conifers but more likely, perhaps, as one of Grenville's attempts to prevent an overbearing brother from telling him what to do, just as he had done in respect of his acquisition of a country estate. He would have seen the constructive way in which Scots Pine could be used in mixed plantations

at Boconnoc during his courtship of Anne, and the nursery there would continue to propagate them throughout his ownership of the property. Whatever the explanation for his remarks to his brother, Grenville soon became fascinated by the introductions of non-native conifers and his brother was indeed right that on the relatively poor soil at Dropmore some conifers, in particular Pines, might do very well.

Relations between the brothers went through one of their bad patches in the winter of 1794/1795 with Buckingham writing;[25]

> January 3, 1795
> At some future time these reflections will, I am persuaded, severely pain you; but I sincerely hope you will not feel one half of the misery which I feel of every description, from the cruel and unworthy treatment which I have received; but, till that time arrives, I feel that I have lost the affections of a brother whom I loved as myself.
>
> January 23 1795
> ...I am obliged to repeat to you that the only intercourse which I can have with a brother, is that of confidence, esteem, and affection. And the transactions of which I complain have most cruelly convinced me that you no longer retain those sentiments towards me.

Good relations were restored and Buckingham continued to supply Grenville with some of the essential ingredients to stock his burgeoning estate;

> November 5 1797
> Ten ewes of my best breed to whom a very fine ram has been very properly attentive, together with ten more of this year's breed, and a young gentleman, who will all be forward for next year's marriage, are ready for you and will set out as soon as you please. They will be three days on the road, and will be overtaken on the third day by my cart with 7,000 three-year -old beech, and a number of odds and ends of other plants including 1,500 two-year-old oaks, together with some pigeons and poultry for Madam. Now I wish that this cargo should arrive when *you* are ready to receive it; and as that may depend upon accident, I write to know whether you will be at Dropmore on Friday, Saturday or Sunday next, that I may arrange so that they shall all assemble by the earliest moment of your arrival. But, at all events, as this is much more important than anything that can be discussed in your Cabinet, I will beg a line by return of post, that no time may be lost in arranging the march of the sheep; who at least have this advantage over anything that has marched by order of your Cabinet for the last five years, namely, that they march without a subsidy to put them in motion.[26]

There is very little information about exactly what kind of planting was done or its disposition. It would have been difficult for the Grenvilles to give a final shape to their grounds before the road diversions had taken place. The quantities of trees referred to by Buckingham sound very impressive but at the current recommended planting rate of 1000 per acre for broadleaved species,[27] the 11,000 trees from Stowe mentioned in the correspondence

would have only stocked 11 acres, or rather less if some were reserved for planting as individuals or in small groups.

The Pinetum, which is discussed in Part 3 of this Chapter, grew from small beginnings. In the winter of 1795-6 seeds of North American conifers had been sent to Dropmore and this, it has been suggested, marks the beginning of the creation of a pinetum.[28] However, it is unlikely to have been much advanced by 1801 or deserving of such a title. More material arrived from the Fort William Botanic Garden, India sent by Grenville's great friend Richard Wellesley, 1st Viscount Mornington (1760-1842) in 1798. He wrote 'if Lady Grenville wants anything from Cabul [sic] to Assam let her command her slave.'[29] It must have taken at least 4 years or so before any of those had grown sufficiently to be suitable for planting in open ground. Any record of the early planting, if there was one. seems not to have been available to the then head gardener William Baillie writing in 1828, *see* Appendix 5. Most of his entries for the introduction of particular species in the article relate to the period from 1821. The only exception he gives is that for a *Cedrus libani* planted in 1802.[30] Jupp gives the first planting of *C. libani* as being in 1794,[31] and it may be that this was from that first consignment from Stowe. This species of trees had been planted in quantity at Stowe since the mid-1700s, not least in a grove planted as a setting for James Gibbs's Gothic Temple in Hawkwell Field built between 1744 and 1748.[32] No conifers at Dropmore planted before 1802 have been identified in modern surveys.[33]

Grenville's appetite for expenditure was always toward the limit of his means, but never greater, telling Pitt that he had resolved never to fall in debt.[34] There would be no period of his life when he was able to give free rein to his ambition to improve landscape. But he was by no means penniless; in 1792 he estimated that he had capital of £34,675, including a small farm at Stoke Mandeville and Dropmore yielding him £1286, but this was a paltry sum compared to the wealth of his eldest brother at Stowe. In December 1791 an 'arrangement' had been made for him to be appointed Ranger and Keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks, a sinecure office at £1,500 pa, so that he would have the financial confidence to propose to Anne. This he exchanged in February 1794 for the Auditor of the Exchequer, worth £4,000 a year. At the time of his marriage therefore, with his income as Secretary of State of £5,200, his Rangership and his private income, he had £7686 p.a. at his disposal, rising to about £11,000 when he left office in 1801 due to his marriage settlement and an inheritance from Camelford.[35] However, not only did he spend to build up his land holding but he was to build two houses with Samuel Wyatt during that period to 1801. The first phase of Dropmore, complete by 1795, had cost over £14,000. In addition, there was his house in Cleveland Row

built during the hectic years of Pitt's first Administration. There were two other avenues for financing his improvements. First, he had the attentive ear of Thomas Coutts the Banker who, seeing Grenville as a 'coming man' and respecting his probity, allowed Grenville some 'flexibility' in managing his accounts, which is well illustrated by their correspondence during 1811.[36] Second, he was able to give Samuel Wyatt drafts, or IOUs, to cover expenditure made on his behalf.[37]

It was clear that, even though the Grenvilles lived modestly compared with many of their wider family and political associates, after his release from office in 1801 economies had to be made. The house in Cleveland Row was sold and the Grenvilles thereafter made Dropmore their principal home. There was still much to be done to finish the house to their liking, and some of the grander features such as the marble hall with its busts of family members and associates had to wait until their fortunes changed.[38] Living happily together, Anne must have reflected on the wisdom of her father's advice about marriage.

Part 2. A 'Tour to South Wales etc.'[39]

In March 1801, after 17 years in office, Grenville followed William Pitt into a political wilderness. With Dropmore well established, and his plans for the major road diversions safely through the Buckinghamshire Quarter Sessions, Grenville found himself with time to enjoy a tour with Anne, during which they could engage in discussion about their shared passion for architecture and landscape. It is discussed in this chapter since the journey marked a natural break-point in their making of Dropmore, and their journal records opinions they had arrived at well before they inherited Boconoc.

The tour began in an atmosphere of uncertainly, and with no fixed itinerary. He wrote to Tom, in the hope that he might be able to join them, Grenville explaining that if there was a threat or invasion he would have to cut short their plans. The passage gives an indication of the importance of agriculture in making strategic decisions, harvests taking a priority over warfare, and also an indication of Grenville's experience of dealing with the brilliant, but erratic, Pitt;

> Dropmore 3 August 1801
> Dearest Brother,
> We set out tomorrow for Nuneham & still purpose being at Cirencester on Friday when I cannot help hoping we shall meet you. I have written to Hammond to ask him whether there really is any project in contemplation for calling us out, previous to the actual landing or appearance off the coasts, of an invading enemy. I feel very confident that such a thing cannot be done in the midst of the harvest without much more harm than good, both in impression & in real effect. And indeed the terms of our association

> do not make us liable to such a requisition nor do I think our farmers would be at all disposed to volunteer it. If invasion really happens, I dare say they & everyone else will do all that can be asked. If Hammond's answer is such as I expect we may then perhaps extend our tour a little further than the line of Monmouth and Chepstow – But we shall begin with that & if you can join our party we may settle anything else that would suit us best. For myself I do not foresee any call here till towards the end of the month. In one sense I am sorry, in another glad that Pitt assists at these military consultations – but I do not see any particular use that he can be of these, for he has very little knowledge of that detail & still less habit of applying his mind to it, & his sanguine temper is very apt to make him think a thing <u>done</u> in that line when it has been shewn that it <u>may be done</u>. – Whereas unfortunately the difference is infinite.[40]

In the event the tour did proceed and a very clear picture of their aesthetic preferences emerges from the Journal copied by Anne into two manuscript volumes.[41] The original Journal was comprised of a number of different booklets and pieces of paper, and was considerably revised after the event, as appears in typical pages, here referring to Blenheim. (fig. 37)

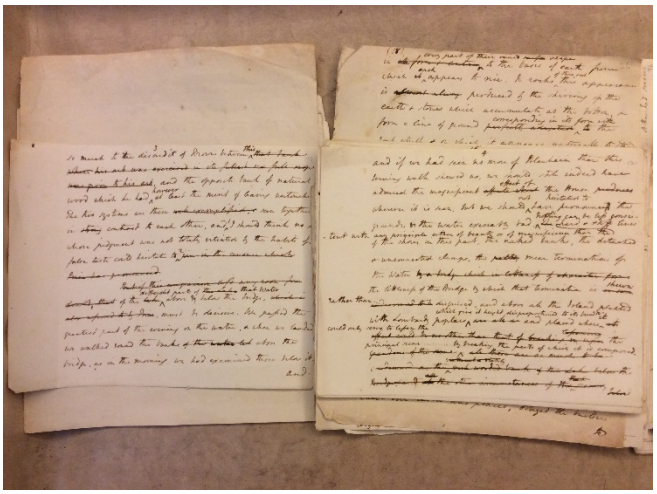

Figure 37; Sample pages from the original Journal of the Tours to South Wales &c.showing substantial revisions. Add MS 69160 ff 11 & 12 © British Library.

The text makes it obvious, whether I or We is being used, that it reflects the opinions of a couple who had, pretty much, a shared inventory of associations in their heads. Both were devout Anglicans and had a special interest in church architecture. There are many references to the churches and cathedrals they visited on their tour from which it appears they had a sharp eye for the Gothic, distinguishing between Castle, and Cathedral or Abbey Gothic.The Journal is significant in that it not only sheds light on the approach they took in conjuring up the core of the Dropmore landscape, but it also goes a long way to explain their philosophy of landscape improvement which they would, in due course, also pursue at Boconnoc.

The tour on which they embarked was not one which aped the conventional 'search for the picturesque', [42] even though it would appear to have been broadly based on that recommended by Gilpin.[43] The itineraries actually followed by Gilpin and the Grenvilles were rather different. Whereas Gilpin, and the majority of picturesque tourists would strike off their route to find scenes to contemplate or sketch as might a painter,[44] the Grenvilles gave greater attention to architecture and the wider landscape including parks and gardens, taking care, when they had the opportunity, of walking them thoroughly. For them, the experience of moving through the landscape and enjoying the natural world was as important as the view from any particular 'station'.[45] Their focus was on what looked good to them as a whole, rather than what might make a good picture. This is a distinction that Gilpin himself understood. He wrote 'the painter who adheres strictly to the *composition* of nature, will rarely make a good picture. His picture must contain a *whole*, his archtype is but *a part*.[46] Repton followed this up in his letter to Price 'There are thousand scenes in nature to delight the eye, besides those which may be copied as pictures. If therefore the painter's landscape be indispensable to the perfection of gardening, it would surely be far better to paint it on canvas at the end of an avenue, as they do in Holland.'[47] It was some of those 'thousand scenes', particularly in made landscapes, that the Grenvilles were looking for.

As Grenville explained in his *Essays* on landscape, the task of the painter is quite different to that of anyone seeking to improve a landscape.[48] This does not mean that the Grenvilles were insensible to the value of framing a view. On reaching the bridge with a single arch over the River Taafe at Pontypridd they noted in their journal that it was deficient in architectural beauty but;

> the view of the river and its mountainous and well wooded banks, when seen under the arch is very pleasing. The effect of landscape viewed in this manner is always interesting - partly because such a frame serves to give a stronger contrast to the light which falls on the more distant parts of the picture, and partly because it more distinctly limits and separates the particular landscape so seen, which the eye is otherwise apt to mix and to confound with the surrounding objects.[49]

The Grenvilles understood Gilpin's views on picturesque beauty,[50] and agreed that a fine view could be shown to advantage if seen through openings between trees in the foreground as they found at Beaulieu Wood, adjacent to the Kymin near Monmouth, created in about 1800. The Grenvilles, however, concentrated on giving their attention to 'made' landscapes, where what Gilpin described as 'side-screens to a view', [51] were contrived, as at Beaulieu Wood, rather than being a consequence of a search for 'stations' from which views could be said to be 'correctly picturesque' by manoeuvring in the landscape until trees or other object made

satisfactory side screens to the principal view. There is an important distinction between the way that the Grenvilles and Gilpin saw the purpose of side-screens. For Gilpin these were to become essential parts of the composition of a two-dimensional image created by the artist. For the Grenvilles they were simply the means to focus attention on longer views by concealing what might otherwise be distractions from a full appreciation of them.

The Journal was obviously prepared as a personal *aide mémoire*, and perhaps as a way of refining their ideas for future reference. The journals do not, unlike the travelogues of Anne's father's friend Thomas Gray,[52] or the impish James 'Jem' White (1775-1820), writing in 1805,[53] contain references to people they met on their way, the weather conditions, their hosts or innkeepers where they lodged. The 2nd Earl Harcourt (1736-1809), with whom they stayed at Nuneham, makes a brief appearance, but only to explain his practice of freely thinning his young plantations and cutting coppice selectively to avoid 'an unvarying line of underwood all growing up in equal height and thickness', a practice they would commend in their observations about their visit to Blenheim.[54]

As with almost every writer discussing attractive landscape, the Grenvilles fall, here and there, into writing of objects as being picturesque. However, if the Journal is read as a whole it is evident that they understood aesthetic qualities to lie in the mind and that for this reason they generally refer to a 'picturesque effect'. Caerphilly Castle, they wrote, 'though an object in the highest degree worthy of attention must be considered as interesting rather to the mind than to the eye and as occupying the imagination principally by other ideas than those of picturesque beauty'.[55] As Grenville explained at the outset of his *Essays,* beauty of any kind, including Gilpin's 'Picturesque', played only one part in the appreciation of landscape: it had to be coupled with association before a landscape could glow 'with the life and warmth of human life.'[56]

The pair do comment on the countryside through which they pass. However, the real objective of the expedition was to examine and calibrate their own ideas about architecture and made landscapes, in particular what they called 'modern gardening'.[57] The principal examples of this were the works of Brown which they took the trouble to examine with particular care at Nuneham and Blenheim, Croome Court and Cardiff Castle.

Lancelot Brown and the Grenvilles

The relationships between the Pitt and Grenville families and Brown have never been satisfactorily explained, despite an extensive bibliography of works about both men. It is certain that he was employed at Wotton and at Stowe, respectively Grenville's birthplace and his home

after he became orphaned. Brown was said to be one of the few people close to Grenville's great uncle Chatham; both were involved at one time or another at Stowe, Wotton and Ralph Allen's Prior Park at Bath, where Chatham had a house in the Circus. Brown designed the monument to Sir William Pynsent (c.1675-1765) on Troy Hill, Curry Rivel, Somerset for Chatham, to commemorate the benefactor who had bequeathed him what became known as the Burton Pynsent estate, but does not otherwise seem to have contributed to the improvements there. (fig. 38).

Figure 38; The Pynsent Memorial Column designed for Chatham by Lancelot Brown. Rev. C Harbin, 1852. Photograph © Author.

There is no doubt of the high regard in which the two men held each other but it is an open question whether Chatham's respect for Brown was based on an admiration for his creative skills or on appreciation of his mastery of the technical aspects of landscape improvement. There is something beyond the formulaic 'Brownian' landscape of house, lake, clumps and enclosed bounds to be found at Stowe and Wotton and it has been argued that Chatham may have been the aesthetic genius behind Brown's lake making at least one of those two places. Chatham's enthusiasm for place making does not appear to have included making any landscapes which can be regarded as 'following' Brown.[58]

Chatham was born at Boconnoc in 1708, and in 1730 after a year at Oxford and some travel in Europe, found himself rusticated there by his father for some months before a commission in the Army could be arranged. Impatient by nature he complained to his mother of being in this 'cursed hiding-place', but his annoyance seems to have referred to his enforced separation from London and Bath, not the landscape.[59] He returned there a number of times thereafter and it can be suggested that he was influenced in developing his own style of landscape

improvement by its natural beauty, as would be Camelford and Grenville. Camelford had the topography and abundant water resources at Boconnoc to allow him plenty of scope to follow in Brown's creative footsteps had he wished, but he did not do so. Jane Brown, in *The Omnipotent Magician* speculates that some improvements may have been made for, or suggested to, him by Brown at Down, Blandford St Mary. That has been refuted.[60] In any event Brown was never persuaded to work westward of the Tamar and could never have had a hand in changes made to the landscape at Boconnoc by Camelford.

It is against that background that the preoccupation of Grenville and Anne with the work of Brown and 'modern gardening' needs to be seen. Hearnes Plate II to *The Landscape (*fig.19). They were by no means alone in having reservations about Brown's interventions in the landscape, [61] but what is striking is the vehemence with which they express their views, particularly since their Journal was not intended for publication. It is easy to drift into thinking that this relatively young couple, he then 42, she 29, were drawing their ideas from contemporary writers, notably Price and Knight and from considering Repton's entry into the argument with *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*. In their Journal they make reference to Price in their commentary on Blenheim, and the further reference to 'the two systems are there seen together in contrast to each other' has echoes of Thomas Hearne's illustrations for Knight's *The Landscape* which suggests that they were also familiar with that work, *see* Chapter 2 (fig. 10). However, it would be is difficult to suggest that Grenville was one to be overly influenced by fashions, or by someone like Price. Anne was also a lady with an independent mind, as was demonstrated when her father first suggested to her that she might marry Grenville. It is not as if the couple were coming fresh to the study of landscape: Grenville bought the land at Dropmore, and with Anne began to develop their own landscape style there from the autumn of 1792, well before Price, Knight and Repton published their works.

Nuneham

The consideration of made landscapes began on the first day on the tour at Nuneham, near Oxford. Here, 'The flower garden, and the walks, at Nuneham amused and pleased us. Much true taste is shewn in the disposition of both.' One might expect that this would be followed by an effusion of compliments, but they continue, 'The first is however unquestionably broken into parts too minute even for that species of composition, and the profusion of busts, urns, and inscriptions, has been objected to with reason.' They praised the artifice of the walks by which 'the flat and uninteresting countryside on the other side of the Thames had been

partially concealed by plantations so that it is only appeared at its most favourable points.' It was not just to the aesthetic appreciation of the grounds that they gave their attention. As people who, today, might be expected to be enthusiastic members of the International Dendrology Society, they were curious about the growth habits of the trees that they saw, noting that the old elms covering the Nuneham bank of the Thames, 'as well as in all the other trees of any considerable size at this place (had) a disposition to feather downwards much more than is usual. I imagine this to be only the effect of a soil particularly favourable to their growth'. Lord Harcourt told them that elm and acacia 'were found to flourish most there, but that his father had planted little else than Beech'. This observation allowed them to launch into their first attack on Brown;

> This was probably done under the direction of Brown, who was much employed there, and who seems to have paid little attention to the obvious principle of assimilating his new plantations to the most flourishing of the old growth on the different spots where he was desirous to produce new shade. Yet the planter has no other rule equally to be depended on for ensuring the success of his labours, and the landscape gardener ought above all other effects to consult those produced by connection and harmony.

They left the next morning for Oxford. Their summary of the visual attraction of the city indicates the extent to which they were interested in the qualities of a landscape as a whole, rather than the obsession with picturesque effects to which Gilpin freely confessed;[62]

> Independantly [sic] of the particular beauties of the separate buildings which we examined, we were perhaps still more struck with the general effect of the whole, as seen from a great variety of points and constituting a succession of the richest and most magnificent scenery such as bring to the mind the ideas of the walls of the Lyceum, or the groves of Academus.

Blenheim

The Grenvilles then went to Woodstock to have a good look at Blenheim. (fig. 39) They were impressed by the magnificence and grandeur of the Palace and its grounds, despite what they saw as being faulty architecture. First, they rode around the park, then they set off on foot to examine it in detail. They were surprised at the regularity with which all the underwood was shorn so giving to the large evergreens the effect of clipped hedges. They compared this unfavourably with the practice at Nuneham where the shrubs were occasionally, but always partially, cut down very near the ground but the whole never being thinned together. They noted what they saw to be good points and bad points, and then came to a place when they found the reason for their objection to modern gardening laid out before them. The passage is quoted *in extenso*, below, because in it the Grenvilles, while giving due credit to the magnificence of

Blenheim, explain the reasoning behind their objection. The main thrust of their argument was not that there should be no intervention in the wider landscape, they both being keen improvers, but that the effect of Brown's bare and bald landscapes was something less satisfactory than untouched nature.

> In returning towards the House thro' the dressed grounds which form the garden bank of the lake we had occasion frequently to refer to the comparison which Price has drawn so much to the discredit of Brown between this and the opposite bank of natural wood which he had however at least the merit of leaving untouched. **The two systems are there seen together in contrast to each other, and altho' the natural features of the garden bank are such as could not but produce beauty under any management, I should think no one whose judgement was not totally vitiated by the habits of false taste could hesitate to give a decided preference to that which has undergone no change at all; particularly in comparing the rich varieties produced by the undulating surface of the natural ground, with a regular and formal outline to which art has reduced the other, and the effect of the dressed plantations of the garden with that of the unattached thickets of the Park**. [emphasis added] The difference in point of colour is also well deserving of attention. The turf of the garden bank offers nothing to the eye but one uniform surface of green, which is unquestionably in itself extremely beautiful and is well suited to the character of a mere garden strictly so called but when extended over so large a portion of the landscape it is deficient in variety and richness- the verdure of the Park bank is not perhaps in any single spot as beautiful as that of the garden tho' the hue of the fern may well rival that of the finest herbage -but there is an endless variety in the tints as well as in the forms of the natural ground, and the brown hue of the bare ground where the Deer had worn a path to the water's edge, produced an effect in the picture quite as pleasing as that of the soft green of the close-worn turf, or the richer colours of the ferns and brushwood with which it was almost imperceptibly blended.
>
> It is certainly true that this particular circumstance could not well be imitated in mere garden ground, where the character of neatness must be preserved tho' often at the expense of richness, of variety, and a picturesque effect. But this difficulty arises from the very nature of the attempt to extend the character of a garden over a whole Landscape. The true system of ornamenting a scene the features of which are as large as those of Blenheim, would certainly be to imitate not a Garden, but the Landscape and to supply the richness and variety of the latter in various parts of the grounds where they happen to be deficient, rather than to deface them where they exist, and to spread over the whole the formality and monotony of modern gardening.
>
> If this principle is not sufficiently illustrated by the contrast of the Park and Garden banks of the same part of the water at Blenheim, the comparison of the different parts of that water above and below the bridge must be decisive. We passed the greatest part of the evening on the water, and when we landed we walked round the banks above the bridge, as in the morning we had examine those below it, and if we had seen no more of Blenheim than this evening walk shewed us, we should still indeed have admire the magnificent effect of the House wherever it is seen, but we should not have hesitated to pronounce the grounds, and the water execrably bad. Nothing can be less consistent with any principle either a beauty or of magnificence than the hard and stiff lines of the shores in this part, the naked banks, the detached and unconnected clumps, the mean termination of the water the littleness of the Bridge by which that termination is shewn rather than disguised, and above all the Island planted with Lombardy poplars which gives it height

disproportioned to its breadth and placed where it could only serve to lessen the principal scene by breaking the parts of which it is composed.

Figure 39; Blenheim Palace. Google Earth, accessed 15.5.2018.

Although there may have been changes to the disposition of trees since 1801 the contrast in styles which the Grenvilles described is still evident today.

Following this visit, they took the boat south on the Wye from Ross to Monmouth. There Grenville walked alone on a hot afternoon, 700 feet up to the Kymin Rocks and the Roundhouse erected, by 1796, by local gentlemen as a dining pavilion. There was also the recently-completed Naval Temple, erected in 1800 to commemorate the naval victories of the last 50 years, and, in particular, Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. There he found one of the finest birds-eye views of landscape that can be seen in southern England. He made his way into the adjacent Beaulieu Wood, then known as Beaulieu Grove, where openings had been made to the distant views of what is said to be ten counties.[63] He would come back to the Kymin with Anne on their return journey. Next day they went on, again by boat, south to Chepstow, passing Tintern Abbey. From Chepstow they drove to Piercefield, Gwent, where they walked the path through the woods on the edge of the steep valley of the Wye; 'the rugged precipices along which the walk is occasionally conducted, compose tho' under great disadvantages both of the art and nature a succession of scenery and once romantic and picturesque'.

Cardiff Castle

Reaching Cardiff, the couple found another opportunity to lambast Brown, and on this occasion his son-in-law Henry Holland (1745-1806). Walking to Cardiff Castle in the evening they found it to have been altered and enlarged by the advice, as it is said, of Holland and Brown.

In fairness to Viscount Mountstuart, later the 1st Marquis of Bute (1744-1814), who had instructed Brown and Holland, it should be pointed out that although great expense was incurred in making lavish improvements to the house, it was never meant to be a family home. He intended the grounds to be a public amenity.[64] As mentioned earlier, the Grenvilles were friendly with the Butes, and they stayed at Boconnoc on a number of occasions,[65] but at the time the journal was written Grenvilles may not have known of his intentions at Cardiff Castle. Even if they did, it would not undermine their opinion about the effect of the interventions of Brown and Holland;

> It is not possible to imagine anything done in worse taste, and if it were necessary to explain to anyone the difference between the harmony, richness, and variety, which constitute the beauty of natural landscape, and which the painter endeavours to transfer to his canvass, and the hard, bald, and monotonous system lately introduced into what is called Landscape Gardening, he should be told to compare Cardiff Castle with the ruins of Goodrich, Dinevor or Ragland. ….
>
> … what principally attracted our attention was the garden as it is called which lays in front of the Castle and is encompassed by the old Walls, with some modern additions to them. It is a smooth shaven lawn of about half an acre levels to a perfect flat, and planted with clumps of evergreens and flowering shrubs – In the middle of it stands on a mound the ruin of the old keep of the Castle formerly a round tower of considerable size. In general these towers form the most picturesque part of the ruins of an old castles being placed on elevations higher than the surrounding buildings and being built in masses of greater size and importance – This principal feature of the ruin is generally covered both within and without by creeping plants -springing up in endless variety among the fragments of the towers and walls which are scattered on every side both within and without, and which afford an ample shelter for every species of undergrowth and sometimes for trees of large dimensions. By the effect of these all the remaining parts of the building are connected with each other so that whatever be the height breadth or general magnificence of the main towers they owe as much of their beauty to these accompaniments as to any circumstances of their own form or size. Such is the noble description which a modern Latin poet has given us of the appearance of Rome.
>
> It was probably on features like these that Mr Brown had to work, when in an evil hour he was called to Cardiff. What has he done? He has removed all the disjointed and scattered fragments from the Castle, from the Keep, and from the whole area in which they stand. By this operation he has at once destroyed all that combined together the two buildings, which now appear as if placed by chance in the neighbourhood of each other without connection or relation of any kind. With the ruins he has also removed all the wild growth of underwood and trees which accompanied them, and has reduced the whole inclosure to the monotony of a shaven turf ornamented with garden plantations that varied and broken surface, that wild and rough disorder, that [space left blank] and with them that grand and almost menacing appearance which the Poet describes, are all vanished, and in their place is substituted the neatness and formality of a trim garden the boast of a London Villa. Even the hill itself on which the Keep is raised, has not escaped the destroyers hand. It has not only been plundered of all its rich masses and ornamental vegetation but it has been shaven and pared down to a smooth and conical form, levelled

> at the top to a perfect flat with an edge as hard as that of the glacis of a modern fortification: and with a smooth spiral walk leading up in one regular slope from the bottom of this mount to the level on which the tower stands pared on the outside and gutted within till it is reduced to a mere circular wall retaining neither beauty nor magnificence. It is absolutely necessary to have seen the effects of this experiment in order to form any adequate idea how totally it has annihilated all the dignity of the ruin which left as it is naked and unaccompanied on the top of this truncated sugar loaf conveys no grander image to the mind than that of a deserted pigeon house. Any man who possesses one spark of a painters or a poet's genius would with difficulty have brought himself to touch a scene like this for the purpose even of the most certain and obvious improvement, but nothing but the very spirit of ignorance and barbarism could have advise this total destruction of all that gave to it interest, character, or beauty.

The Grenvilles were able to relax at Briton Ferry, the home of Lord Vernon (1735-1813). They found the walks through the woods were 'very judiciously managed although little has been done to the place; nor would indeed the scenery have admitted of much improvement and the greatest possible mischief would have been produced by the introducing into it a more artificial stile of decoration.'

At Swansea there had the opportunity to enjoy seascape, something they would, later, be able to do at Lantic Bay in Cornwall, *see* Chapter 4;

> The mere prospect of open sea is always delightful to those who have few opportunities to enjoy it, nor does any description of inland scenery afford a greater variety of picturesque effect than is produced by this great mass of water, an object which appears at first view so simple and monotonous. Every hour of the day, every season of the year, and every change in the fluctuating atmosphere of our climate varies the appearance of this noble and commanding object. But never to my feelings is it so perfectly delightful, as when viewed by moonlight and in its calmest state
>
> When not a cloud obscures the blue serene
> And not a breath disturbs the solemn scene[66]
>
> and in this form we enjoyed it at Swansea in its utmost beauty.

Dynfwr

Striking northward toward Dinever Castle, (now Dynfwr), Carmarthenshire, they found the high point of their tour. 'All description must fall infinitely short of the impressions we receive from this place which I do not hesitate to pronounce by far the most beautiful spot that we saw in the course of this tour - nor indeed do I recollect any scenery in this Kingdom which I should on the whole prefer to Dinever.'

> It is not surprising that this would open the way for another attack on modern gardening; The hill which we had first walked along incoming from the House, and which had afforded us so many favourable points for looking up towards the Castle, becomes in its turn an object hardly less interesting when viewed from thence. Its surface varying continually both in the degree, and in the direction of the descent offers a striking contrast

> to the stiff and uniform swell which has been substituted by modern gardeners in the room of the flat bowling greens and the inclined planes of their predecessors. It is true that in laying out ground something is gained by changing straight lines and artificial slopes for circular lines and swells of almost any description - but in the present system the regularity of the latter has little more resemblance than that of the former to the natural undulations of ground in their most beautiful forms, such as ought to be the objects of imitation to Landscape Gardeners.

Having walked through the woods and meadows surrounding the castle until the light completely failed them they returned to their Inn 'after passing an evening of as much pleasure as the beauty of landscape is capable of affording'. Following the Towey northward to Llandovery they were struck by 'the peculiar neatness that is found in the habitations of all classes of the people down to the poorest peasant'. These houses were almost invariably whitewashed; Gilpin thought this gave them a disagreeable glare, writing 'nature never colours in this offensive way'.[67] For the Grenvilles these brightly-painted cottages fitted well into the real landscape and had an added moral value. It was not in their nature to revel in the consequences of poverty or deformity as vehicles for picturesque effect;

> The glare of the whitewash with which the cottages are covered has been objected to as a defect in the picturesque beauty of these Landscapes: and it is certainly true that on mere principles of painting these white spots do not harmonise with the softer tints which nature spreads over the other parts of her compositions - But there is a mixed pleasure which prospects like these excite, when the Landscape is real not imitative and when the sentiment of human happiness lends itself with that of the beauties of nature.[68]

Raglan

The way back to Monmouth took them to Raglan, Gwent. They could not fail to be impressed by the magnificent ruins of Raglan Castle, but this was as much from their associative value as their appearance;

> All the images which such a scene presents, and all the reflections which it excites partake of the character of sublimity and greatness. But of all the lessons to be drawn from the contemplation of a ruin like that of Ragland none is more salutary or more impressive than the reflection that such devastation is among the first and necessary consequences of civil discord. The seats of Hospitality, the halls of Festivity, and sometimes even the Temples of Religion are during the prevalence of such unhappy contests, indiscriminately converted into bulwarks of War; the proudest monuments which adorn a country are destroyed by the phrenzy of its own People, and its inhabitants experience from the hands of their fellow citizens all the miseries which the hatred, revenge, and fury of the bitterest enemies can inflict.

At Monmouth, the Grenvilles repeated the visit to the Kymin, and then by way of Hereford, notably not stopping off to see Price, or for that matter Knight, they came to Hampton Court,

where they stayed for three days. Here they noted two things which are particularly relevant to their development of Dropmore. First, their appreciation of ornamental shrubs and flowers close to a house, something for which Dropmore would become famous. Secondly, their opinions about Avenues. As will be seen, Grenville was careful to break up lines of trees at Boconnoc and made no avenues at Dropmore, the Cedar Walk being a notable exception. They did however respect old lines of venerable trees where they were appropriate to the age and character of a building (as was the case at Stowe and Wotton) even where it was difficult to integrate them with a flower garden or shrubbery;

> The comfort of ornamental shrubs and flowers close to a House is certainly very great, and it might have been very difficult to unite them at Hampton Court with the avenues which appear to have surrounded the House in every direction -but I [this time probably Grenvillle] have a partiality to the old stile which would certainly never have allowed me to destroy these old lines of venerable trees, especially in a place where they accorded so well with the character of the building.

Croome Court

The last of the 'Modern Gardens' they took in was Croome Court. It is a testament to their energy that they travelled from the town of Worcester to Croome, and then walked over the place before breakfast;

> It is extensive and must from the growth of the plantations be interesting to the owner, by whom the whole place was formed under the direction of Brown. But the water has all the faults which belong to all the works of this description in which Brown was employed, and of which we had seen so striking an instance in that which was his great boast, the Lake at Blenheim and the grounds are too flat to admit of much picturesque beauty.

However, as at Hampton Court, the flowers gardens and shrubbery did impress them;

> Great attention is paid here to the flower gardens and exotic plants in the knowledge of which Lord Coventry is said to be very skilful. Many of the trees and shrubs of this description were finer, and more thriving than we had ever seen them elsewhere.

With that last swipe at Brown the couple made their way back home. They had remained unspoiled by the beauties they had seen on their tour and the last words on this topic should be theirs;

> The country from our leaving Cirencester to the point when we struck again into the Henley Road is as uninteresting as any other tracks of the same length that can be found in any part of England. At Henley we have the satisfaction of observing that our delight in the picturesque beauties of the Taaf, the Towey, the Usk and the Wye, had not diminished our pleasure in the smooth and majestic Thames where he winds gently round these soft hills of Berkshire & Buckinghamshire alternately reflecting the variegated shade of their Beech woods & the Gay Sunshine of their fertile and smiling valleys.

Part 3. Dropmore from 1802

Dropmore became well known for horticultural experimentation, not just in the layout of borders but also in the cultivation of plants. Two Head gardeners at Dropmore, William Baillie and Philip Frost (1804-1887) were to play a considerable role in the horticultural life of the country as correspondents to newspapers and magazines, encouraged by Loudon. Baillie, Head gardener from 1823 until the appointment of Frost in 1832, even stretched his influence to the United States, when a letter he published in *The Gardener's Magazine,*[69] on the uses of birch bark both in the making marquees and tents but also for protecting plants and encouraging growth, found its way into the *New England Farmer*.[70] His most important contribution was in the January 1828 edition of *The Gardener's Magazine*, co-authored with Loudon himself. 'Some Account of the Flower-gardens and the Pinetum at Dropmore' is the best evidence of the state of play in the gardens toward the close of Grenville's active years.[71] Frost brought that account up to date in 1833, adding fifteen more conifers to the tally given by Baillie.[72] For these accounts *see* Appendix 5.

The Pinetum

The Pinetum is the feature for which Dropmore is most widely known today, although to Grenville other facets, such as the flower garden, the root mound, and associative structures and plants, were of equal importance. The history of the Pinetum and its significance today has been described by A. F. Mitchell (1922-1995), the foremost English dendrologist of the twentieth-century.[73] EVB was plainly wrong in writing 'The Pinetum had been planted in 1830',[74] because the 1828 article asserted that 'Dropmore has been long celebrated for its Pinetum, or collection of plants of the pine and fir tribe…. which contains upwards of fifty species of pine…will open to view and extensive field from the improvement of forest scenery'.[75] It is likely that EVB was muddling up the formation of the Pinetum with the period after which Frost became its effective guardian and advocate. It was he who put in place a proper record of planting in the Pinetum; this record was continued after his death.[76] Whilst Grenville never knew how extensive the collection would eventually become he must be credited with its inception. The record initiated by Frost goes back only to 1829 and must have provided the foundation for his 1833 letter. Only seven of the examples in the collection relate to species planted within Grenville's lifetime.

Other than this record, Baillie's 1828 article gives the earliest confirmed planting date, other than a *C. libani* in 1802, as 1821. He includes all the conifers then growing in the

Pinetum, and lists 28 without a planting date, but presumably prior to 1821. Adding the 7 species recorded by Frost to the 52 recorded by Baillie means that during Grenville's lifetime 59 different species were represented in the collection. To set that into perspective there are only three species of conifer recognised as being native to Britain; Scots Pine (*Pinus Sylvestris),* Yew (*Taxus baccata)* and Juniper (*Juniperus communis),*[77] *w*hilst today over 500 species of conifer have been identified world-wide. As far as Baillie understood it in 1828, and he was writing under the expert supervision of Loudon, there were only 10 species then wanting to make the Dropmore collection complete. In an apparent transfer of technique from Boconnoc to Dropmore, the digging of pits and filling of them with good soil or compost before planting contributed to the early growth rates in the Pinetum described by Mitchell. A number of the conifers in the Pinetum became widely celebrated including a particularly fine Monkey Puzzle. (fig. 40).

Figure 40; A view of Dropmore Gardens near the lake in 1850, showing one of its celebrated conifers, a Monkey Puzzle *Araucaria Araucana*. W. Richardson. © David Gedye.[78]

The Cedar Walk

Adjacent to, but separate from, the Pinetum was the Cedar Walk. This consisted of two parallel lines of trees running in a curve over open ground for 500 metres.[79] It is frequently referred to as the Cedar Avenue. However, there has been controversy about both the date these trees were planted and their purpose. The *Supplement to the Journal of Horticulture* in 1906 gave a probable planting date of 1845-50, and incorrectly suggests that the trees are *C.*

deodara.[80] EVB positively asserts that it was planted in 1830 with 140 trees.[81] Sir Herbert Maxwell (1845-1937), writing in 1914, plumped for about 1840, although his dating may have failed to take into account that the species was one of the conifers which do not do well at Dropmore, and therefore be older than he judged from his own inspection;

> Having regard to the fine quality of the timber, it is to be regretted that more attention has not been given to growing cedars under forest conditions. The nearest approach that I have seen to this treatment is in the fine cedar avenue at Dropmore, Bucks, where a large number of trees, close planted about seventy years ago, have grown straight and fair to a height of as many feet.[82]

The latest estimate of around 1850 was in the *Gardener's Chronicle* of 1899;

> Few persons who have visited Dropmore, that Paradise of conifers, failed to view the remarkable Cedar avenue….(fig. 41) The finest species of Cedrus Deodara [sic.] now extant at Dropmore were planted by Frost in 1834…. But this avenue of Lebanon Cedars was probably planted ten or fifteen years later. The trees were planted in avenue form, we believe, in reality to get rid of them, so many Cedars having been dotted about the grounds as to be suggestive somewhat of monotony. But although it owes its origin to an accidental abundance of young plants, the avenue forms at this day a pleasing and unusual feature of tree-planting in this country.[83]

FIG. 52.—THE AVENUE OF CEDARS OF LEBANON AT DROPMORE. (SEE P. 138.)

Figure 41; The Avenue of *Cedrus libani*. The Gardeners' Chronicle 1899. p. 138.

All of those suggested dates are wrong. Not only is there Tom's reference to the Avenue in 1835, and the winding avenue of Cedars that are referred to in the 1828 *The Gardener's Magazine,* [84] but there are also the references from Grenville and Fortescue which follow. The cause of confusion is, as with the early plantings in the Pinetum, likely to have been an absence of proper record keeping before 1821, and the great difficulty in gauging the age of living trees accurately from height or girth measurements. The cedars in the Walk have not proved to be long lasting; there were only 15 remaining in 2014, although there are many planted elsewhere in the eighteenth-century still thriving today.[85] The idea that the trees were

planted in that way simply to get rid of them flies in the face of what is known about Grenville's measured approach to making any decision. An unattributed article in *The Florist* in 1852, noted that it… 'was planted, we were informed, in 1808'. Thomas Rutger in 1836, making notes for Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine,* recorded that they were about 25 years growth, which would give a date of about 1811. The planting season of 1807/8 was the first following Grenville stepping down as Prime Minister. The Boconnoc Minute Book, discussed in detail later, shows that year to be one in which Grenville indulged in hectic estate improvement and planting. It is therefore considered that the 1808 date is the most likely and this conclusion has also been reached by Colson Stone.[86]

There remains the question of what it was for. Avenues are normally expected to lead from one place of interest to another. This is not the case with these cedars at Dropmore. Furthermore, Grenville disliked avenues which were not associated with an historic building for which they were appropriate.[87] Where he found straight lines of trees he would plant to break them up as in Prowda Park, Boconnoc, *see* Appendix 2.[88] The only other straight lines of trees at Dropmore, albeit the Cedar Walk curves slightly, are seen on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey (OS). The first straight line follows the Burnham/Hitcham Parish Boundary from the House to near the Root Mound which may have been planted for associative reasons. The second is the Cherry Oak Drive and the associated avenue to the south of Lower Lambourne's Wood, now lost, which were later additions to what is now the registered landscape of Dropmore. Although, no doubt, fine features in themselves, these two struck a discordant note in the Dropmore landscape. It may be seen from the 1st edition OS that they might have been more appropriate in the formalised setting of the adjacent Cliveden.

The answer may be found in the name used by both Grenville and Fortescue for it, 'the Cedar Walk'.[89] There were a number of tree-fringed walks at Boconnoc, for example the Alder Walk, and the Beech Walk. There was also a 'Melancholy Walk', the location of which has not yet been identified. Anne would have known of the Melancholy Walk at Ham House next door to her childhood home at Petersham Lodge, while the pair would both have been aware of the growth habit of semi-mature *C. libani.* It is suggested that they took advantage of that to create a place for shaded, contemplative walks away from the intensive horticultural activity taking place in other parts of the grounds. The route of the walk would keep the user away from the western carriage drive, away from the new public road and away from the bustle of twelve or so gardeners at work. If this proposal is correct, then it is another example of the original and innovative way in which the Grenvilles approached planting and gardening. The Cedar Walk

would be a feature in its own right and not just a route from one place to another; and so be a puzzle for future generations.

Visiting sometime before 1847 Edward Jesse, the naturalist (1780-1868) wrote;

> Long midst thy groves, fair Dropmore I could stray,
> For you are fair, indeed! From the bare heath
> You sprung by magic of his classic mind -
> And owe your landscape to a Grenville's skill. - W. Nicol

> Dropmore is classic ground. Indeed, there are few spots where finer taste has been displayed, or where more celebrated men have at various times met together. Beautiful and interesting as the place is now, it was once, and it may be added, of later years, a barren heath, having a few straggling trees growing on it. This barren heath is now, however, adorned with an infinite variety of beautiful trees, many of them of great rarity, and boasting of a Pinetum unequalled perhaps in Europe. The ground may be said to be in an elevated position, with a well-kept lawn in the front of the house, and an extensive flower-garden near it. But the varied walks are the chief objects of attractions. As they are perambulated, sometime a fine view of the castle of Windsor opens upon us, and at another the church of Stoke, or the mansion adjoining with its white dome is seen. Then there are the glades, a fine piece of turf overshadowed with trees, the rock-work, and extensive piece of artificial water, and a noble hedge of laurel some twenty-five feet in heighth. There is an extensive aviary of canary birds in the flower-gardens, with conservatories containing many rare and beautiful plants, all under the care of Mr Frost, the active, intelligent, and scientific gardener.
> But the great and interesting charm of this place is its Pinetum…[List of Conifers given].
> Nor must I forget to mention the fine avenue of Cedars of Lebanon…Not far from the west end of this avenue, a flourishing young oak may be seen on a sloping bank [The Boscobel Oak and inscription].
> The pleasure this amiable statesman took in the adornment of his charming grounds is very apparent. Assisted by the good taste of Lady Grenville, he superintended every improvement. Here we see the little lawn tastefully laid out, and I have said but little of the extensive flower-gardens. The fine order in which it is kept, and the great variety and beauty of the flowers, are very striking.[90]

Flower Gardening

There is no doubt that Anne took a leading role in the way flowering plants were used at Dropmore, although there is little doubt that Grenville encouraged her in this.[91] These uses extended far beyond the flower gardening techniques normally to be seen at that time. It was not unusual to have bedding schemes with detailed plans for seasonal planting, but the Grenvilles broke new ground in the way they went about it. This was to be seen in the shape of beds, the vividness of the planting, the way in which climbers were used to give height to borders and the means of supporting them, and the use of pots; all achieved on the poorest of ground. An article in *The Gardener's Magazine* of 1828, *see* Appendix 5, gives the most

comprehensive account of the planting at Dropmore in Grenville's lifetime. These words are almost certainly by Loudon who had, by then, over 25 years of experience of garden writing;

> …the lists of flowers [given in the article], and the mode of illustrating them in the parterre and Dutch garden, will afford useful instruction to every class of gardeners and amateurs; instruction the more valuable, because, in so simple a matter as to planting of flower-beds, very few think it worth while to proceed systematically. The grand lesson to be learned from the flower scenery at Dropmore is the advantage of placing beauty in masses.

The shapes of the beds contrived by Anne and illustrated in the article were referred to in a further article, 'Original Beauty of Lines and Forms' in the same volume of the magazine.[92] The significance of the second article will be considered in Chapter 4 in the discussion about lines of beauty.To add height to the planting in the flower beds, all kinds of stratagems were called into play, most obviously large pots, wooden supports, recycled objects and metal frames, a subject on which Anne was to correspond with her friend Ekaterina Vorontsov, Countess of Pembroke (1784-1856) at Wilton.[93] Most surprisingly, parts of old pieces of furniture were pressed into service to provide support for climbers. There was also the planting of standard plants. Loudon, visiting in 1832, was struck by what was, in effect, a mount of flowers, 'a large compartment of standard roses, the highest of which, in the centre, is 15ft., and which slope down on the sides to 5 ft.'[94] There is no doubt the Grenville was as much an enthusiast for these devices as Anne. Three of them, as drawn by Buckler, appear as illustrations in his *Essays*. (fig. 42)

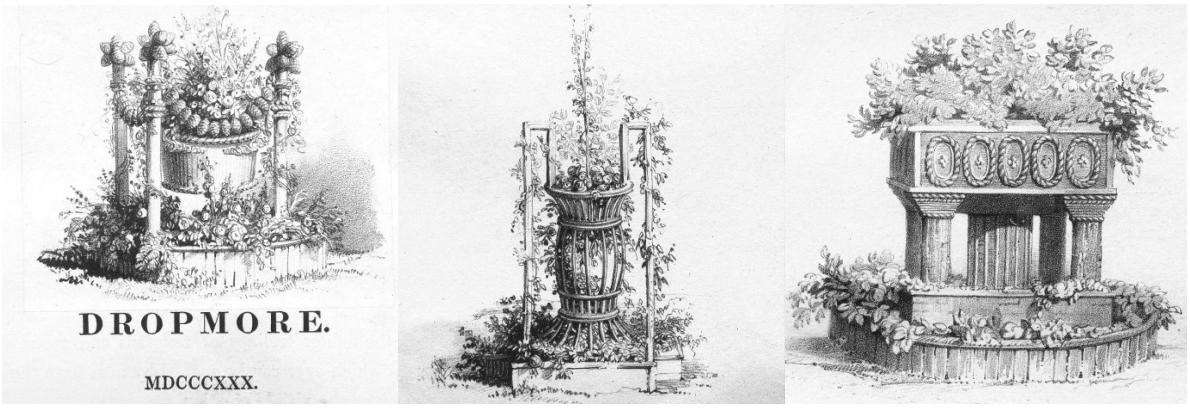

Figure 42; Illustrations of plant supports from *Dropmore, The Essays* 1830 © British Library

Other cruder drawings appeared in *The Gardener's Magazine* in 1828.[95] (fig. 43), *See* Appendices 5 and 6. Loudon and Baillie explained how surprising they found these features;

> After disposing of flowers and plants in immense quantities; and in almost innumerable forms on a flat surface, an active mind like that of Lady Grenville,

enthusiastically fond of gardening pursuits, cannot avoid pushing the taste farther. The direction given to this extreme of art here, is that of raising the plants in the air in grotesque vessels of a great variety of shapes; of surrounding them with varied basket-work; or of training them on elevated forms of wire, and trellis-work. It is worthy of remark and of imitation, and indeed it forms a characteristic of the artificial ornaments of Dropmore, that they are not so much made up of costly materials, as by the application of skill and taste, and the labour of local workmen, to articles of little intrinsic value. Fantastic roots and boughs of trees, with rods of hazel or other clean growths, bark, moss, and such old boxes, barrels, tubs or jars, as may be at hand, and would otherwise be burned or thrown away, are the materials which are metamorphosed into forms remarkable for their singularity, or engaging for their allusion to shapes of established beauty. For example, a tripod for geraniums consists of an old cask, which had contained roman cement; and an old Italian jar, such as is sent from the oil-shops with grapes, or Genoese pickles, forms the basis of an elegant vase, which may be supported on a pedestal consisting of an old tea-chest disguised by pieces of bark. In this way the tasteful application of a little labour, and, with materials worth almost nothing, are produced pleasing and varied objects and effects.

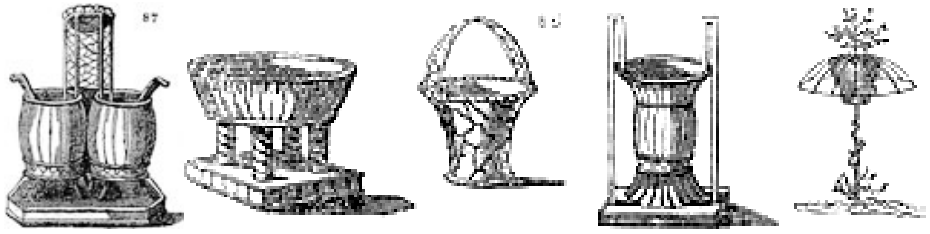

Figure 43; Illustrations from the Gardener's Magazine 1828.

Pots were something of an obsession shared by Grenville, Anne, Tom and Fortescue. It is obvious in the 1895 painting by E.A. Rowe (1863-1933) (fig. 50); the images in Dorothy Fortescue's (1863-1941) photograph album of the period 1887-89 also show that the placing of large vases in and adjacent to flower beds continued under Fortescue and his family. (figs. 44 & 45)

Figure 44; Flower Borders at Dropmore. E. A. Rowe. 1895. © Private Collection.

Figure 45; Photograph of an unknown lady admiring flowers in tall pots at Dropmore. The Photograph Album of Dorothy Fortescue. c 1887-89. © Private Collection.

In 1833 Loudon commented 'Dropmore shows what may be done by art on a surface wholly without natural advantages. The effect is produced by the arrangement of the beds, and by the distribution of pedestals with vases, statues and other sculptures, and by therms and other mural and architectural ornaments.'[96] However, it seems that between 1826 and 1832 some of the more exotic stratagems for giving plants height in the garden had been somewhat toned down. 'In walking through the grounds, we were everywhere, as in 1826 charmed and delighted; and we were still more so now than then, at finding the number of rustic stands, vases. &c. diminished.'[97] A possible explanation for this is that as the planting since 1792 grew toward some sort of maturity, and other points of interest were created, it was not necessary to introduce 'rustic stands' to add interest. However, the interest in vases, pots and pedestals would continue unabated. Tom, writing from Vale Royal indicates his enthusiasm for finding new items for Dropmore in two letters to Anne, the first on 14 September 1833;

> I have at last a line from Sharpus to say that he has got all the articles from the pottery except one vase broken in carriage. I have ordered him to send them down to Dropmore immediately

The second on the 26 September;

> I rejoice that the tiresome Sharpus has at last found his way to Dropmore, having however mutilated one parent vases, I know not which, by a fracture from the manufacturing. I am glad that you & my brother like them, but do not think they can look well in the line – the small ones are too insignificant to stand singly, & the only place they could occupy would be to fill the lowest circle of a stand on which the large pots may be seen to advantage I dare say however you will be sure to find the most advantageous way of disposing of them, & if you like more I could easily get them as I believe Sir F Fowkes's manufactory in Leicestershire is resumed…[98]

Tom, without a substantial garden of his own and based, with his growing library, at his house in Cleveland Square, London, was an inveterate visitor to country houses of his friends. There he would engage with them about their landscapes and their planting. The flavour of this interest, and his participation in improvements at both Dropmore and Boconnoc comes across in letters he wrote to Grenville. On 5 May 1813 he wrote from Cleveland Square;

> Altho' you come to town tomorrow my dearest brother I write a line to say that if Tyler has sent you any sprouts with roots yesterday or to-day, they belong to a curious Spanish lilly [sic] growing at Holland House – Ldy Holland has given me (but I dare – say with a view to Dropmore) a plant of it in a pot just going to blow, a paper of its seed, & some sprouting roots; these last Tiler [sic] was to send to Dropmore if he had an opportunity; the blowing plant in a pot, & the seed in a paper, are waiting for you at Camelford House.

From Bishopthorpe, near York on the 22 September 1816 he announced a new find;

> I left Ld Carlisle yesterday [Castle Howard],& certainly better both in health & spirits than he was 3 years ago, having found there , what I have long been seeking, both for Castle Hill and Dropmore, I mean the true original Clove Carnation, the breed of which was thought to be extinct.[99] I am promised that 8 or 10 cuttings shall be sent to Cleveland Square, and I have told [? Jones] the moment they arrive to send them to Ldy G at Dropmore, but you must let me have one of them for Castle Hill, & one for the sister of my friend Rogers, who was with me when I begged them at Castle Howard. If they come safely to Dropmore & take root, the family may be rich in Clove Carnations. 3 or 4 will come with them of a fine red sort, but not Cloves.

And from Trentham on 23 August 1817 he wrote of improvements at Boconnoc and yet another find;

> I rejoice much to hear of the prosperous appearance of Boconnoc which I hope is now shining under as bright a sun as that which I am basking in here, for there is a fine glare, tho' the N wind gives to the atmosphere the temperature of the end of October rather than that of the middle of August. There was a complete white frost here early yesterday morning which singed the leaves of the fern, but has not hurt the potatoes. I wish I could see from this window the new approach to Boconnoc , the growth of the two plantations nearest the house on the left, & those upon the two high grounds in the park; but unfortunately all this cannot be really seen except by a more active control of my 'vis inertia ' than I know how to exercise. Pray tell Ldy G that there is here a sort of all-spice called Callicanthus precox[100] [sic], which came from Leigh & Kennedy, and grows out very handsomely & smells very delicious, & flourishes here in the open air against a wall, tho' it is generally in other places shut up in a greenhouse.[101]

Grenville in writing to Anne, *see* Appendix 2, also describes Tom being involved in improvements at Boconnoc and Castle Hill. From Boconnoc on 22 September 1813 he wrote;

> I have been all the morning on the Park Hill making some little alterations in the line of fence for the new plantation, chiefly in bringing it forward in one or two points to vary too great a straitness that it had. Tom was with me & we are very proud of our work.

Then from Castle Hill on 19 October, how Tom is busy there, not least exercising that passion for pots;

> They are talking about exchanging the Glebe & moving the Parsonage, & my brother has urged them so much to take the first step towards it, by completing the agreement, and getting the Act passed, now that they have a parson & Bishop to their minds that I rather hope they will go as far as that…Tom is very busy sticking old vases about the slopes before the house, & laying out oval beds of flowers upon. It is much admired, & I held my peace, & perhaps it is as well or even a little better with them than without them – but in truth they only show the want of much more, & much richer decoration.[102]

In addition to plant supports and raised containers the Grenvilles made extensive use of pergolas and verandas. The 'conservatory' was another original feature. This was made with removeable panes of glass on trelliswork piers so that in summer its function would change from being a light and airy garden room with scope for indoor gardening to it being an elaborate veranda clothed with summer flowering climbers and dressed with *pelargoniums,* other flowers and *Magnolias* (probably *M. grandiflora*).[103]

The Root Mound

The Grenvilles installed a tent in their grounds, as did many others, but perhaps most idiosyncratic of all the improvements were the building of the Root Mound and the Arch of the Terrace. These were very much Grenville's affair. While Anne was held up at Longleat by an infection in the household, in 1822 Grenville reported on 5 October, *see* Appendix 2;

> We have had two beautiful afternoons here, & the mountain is gradually growing, & I have with excellent effect cut some of the ash out of the copse, which has opened all Burnham Beeches.
> The mountain keeps growing, & about 1/3 of the circle of the wall has attained its height.

From Cassiobury on 8 October;

> We are all there therefore, Rogers, he, [Lord Essex] & I, to be here to dinner on Wednesday, & as I shall be impatient to get back to my mountain I shall set off by break of day.

And from Dropmore again on 12 October;

> A propos to said mountain, a difficulty has occurred to me in scheming about the new building, & its approach, which I do not well know how to manage I am afraid I can hardly explain it you on paper, & if I do you could hardly have much opinion about it

> without seeing the ground. Perhaps the inclosed sketch may give you some idea of it, tho' I have not left myself room to lay down what constitutes the real difficulty. [104]

Mounds or 'mounts' have been a feature of gardens from the Renaissance to modern times. The following are a few examples: Francis Bacon (1561-1628) describes one as a feature of his idealised garden';[105] Charles II is said to have frequented one at Boscobel when hiding from the Parliamentary forces in the eponymous oak; Bridgeman designed one for the 3rd Duke of Bolton at Hackwood Park in about 1725; and a mount was made for Queen Caroline at the 'Dutch House' at Kew. A recent example is in the garden designed by Piet Oudolf at Scampston Hall, Yorkshire in 2000. Grenville's 'Root Mound' was quite unlike any of these. The originality of it lay in the way he clothed it with roots as a support for ivy and other climbers. Loudon described it in this way;

> In one part of the grounds an artificial elevation of earth and gravel has been raised, for the purpose of commanding and extensive and well wooded view. This is faced and ornamented with roots, and with stems of old beeches of a very picturesque form, already much clothed with flowering and other creepers. The work is still in progress, but even the present effect is striking.

And to Rogers on his 1824 visit thus;

> I have seldom seen any rock-work in gardens that had not rather a trifling paltry appearance: that of Lord Grenville's is on a scale which alone would preserve it from such epithets; and he has managed to give it—the blocks themselves being large and massy—a sort of architectural grandeur, and when the various plants and creepers begin to shoot luxuriantly as they promise to do, the effect will be excellent. He has, I think, been no less successful in a no less difficult and risky operation with other materials—that of placing large bodies of trees, many of them singularly bent, so as to form arches at various directions at the foot [of] an artificial mound he has raised so as to command a view of the distant country; and on the edge of the mound by way of foreground to the distance (I don't know what has possessed me to describe to you what you know better than I do) he has placed large stumps and roots of trees. I had heard of all this, and thought it rather a hazardous undertaking: and the whole at present, being but just done and not quite finished, has, of course, a crude appearance, but it is so well designed that I have no doubt of the effect when the plants and climbers begin to answer the purpose for which they were intended, that of a disguise and an ornament. [106]

It was therefore an amalgam of a stumpery, a feature re-popularised by the Prince of Wales at Highgrove in the 1980s, a viewing mound and a rustic seat. The cladding of roots and climbers may have hastened its decay, so little is seen of it today, although its location is noted on maps. It is likely that Grenville found the whole process of creating it made up, to some extent, for his inability to stray far into the landscape after his first stroke in 1823. Making use of the natural decay of the roots and the growth of the climbers on a project which would allow

him to enjoy long views of the wider landscape brought together all his experience with working with nature and his pleasure in the enjoyment of it. The Root Mound will also be considered in the examination of the Buckler drawings at the end of this Chapter. The National Trust suggest that the stumpery at Biddulph Grange, made in 1856 by Edward William Cooke (1811-1880) for James Bateman was the first of its kind anywhere. Although laid out in a different way to the root mound, the essential characteristic of being 'a scaffold for vigorously sprawling plants' was one pioneered by Grenville thirty years before.[107]

Caring for the mound appears to have provided a constant source of amusement for well over thirty years from its inception, quite apart from its value as a viewing point. It was being worked on by Grenville at the time of his death, 10 years after it was begun, and as late as 1853 it was raised by 4 feet and was being enhanced with ornamental shrub planting in the meadow below it.[108] A less dramatic, more passive feature, was the beech mound, 'a gentle eminence just sufficiently overspread with trees to afford an agreeable canopy of delightful foliage and carpeted with closely shaven soft mossy turf is certainly one of the most charming spots at Dropmore.'[109]

Uvedale Price at Dropmore

There is an element of mystery surrounding a visit by Price (fig. 46) to Dropmore in 1824. Although the Grenvilles were familiar with his writing on the picturesque as early in 1801, as they refer to him in their description of Blenheim,[110] it appears, from the way the meeting in 1824 is described by Price, it was the first time that they had met for a private conversation. Price had been a darling of London drawing rooms described as 'The Macaroni of the Age',[111] by Fanny Burney,[112] and was a life-long friend of Charles James Fox, with whom he had undertaken part of a Grand Tour. However, Grenville, not gregarious at the best of times, seems to have kept well away from him, not least because through much of his political career he was staunch opponent of Fox and so was only a rare visitor to Holland House, the principal headquarters of the Foxites. If the Grenvilles had more than a passing interest in Price's writing, or thought the 'Picturesque' was a satisfactory answer to the 'Brownian', they would, no doubt, have arranged to include Price's estate at Foxley on their tour in August 1801, since they did take in Hereford and its cathedral, only 10 miles away.

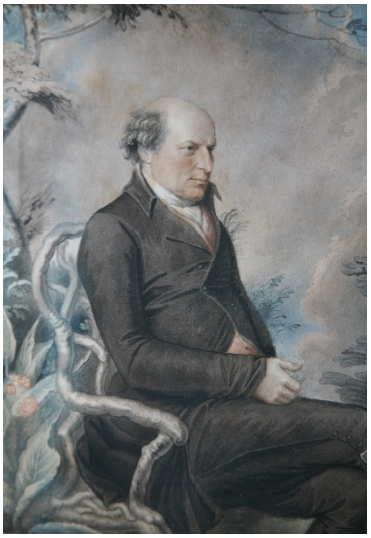

Figure 46; Uvedale Price, 'very much of a tree-monger'. Unattributed. © Private Collection.

Price described his 1824 visit to Dropmore in his correspondence. To Rogers he wrote;

> I never passed a pleasanter day in all respects than that at Dropmore. I delight in Lord Grenville, so we do all, and in his creation; and wish I had happened to see the spot before he began the work… …we got to Dropmore in time enough for a short walk before dinner, which, instead of that absurd fashionable hour of seven, which cuts off the most delightful part of the whole day, was at five, and after coffee, the weather being exactly what one could wish it, set out on our walk. To me, who am not less fond of highly ornamented than of wild picturesque scenery, the whole garden was extremely interesting, and my pleasure was enhanced (many a time have I found it otherwise) by looking it over with the proprietors. Lady Grenville seems as fond of everything as her lord, and from the observations she occasionally made appeared to me to have very just feeling and discrimination. There is an amusing contrast in their manners: his remarkably placid and calm, though far from cold; hers as strikingly eager. I have seldom seen any rock-work in gardens that had not rather a trifling paltry appearance: that of Lord Grenville's is on a scale which alone would preserve it from such epithets; and he has managed to give it—the blocks themselves being large and massy—a sort of architectural grandeur, and when the various plants and creepers begin to shoot luxuriantly as they promise to do, the effect will be excellent. He has, I think, been no less successful in a no less difficult and risky operation with other materials—that of placing large bodies of trees, many of them singularly bent, so as to form arches at various directions at the foot [of] an artificial mound he has raised so as to command a view of the distant country; and on the edge of the mound by way of foreground to the distance (I don't know what has possessed me to describe to you what you know better than I do) he has placed large stumps and roots of trees. I had heard of all this, and thought it rather a hazardous undertaking: and the whole at present, being but just done and not quite finished, has, of course, a crude appearance, but it is so well designed that I have no doubt of the effect when the plants and climbers begin to answer the purpose for which they were intended, that of a disguise and an ornament. Methinks I hear you crying out in a lamentable tone, *Ohe! jam satis est!* and in truth, I am rather ashamed of having given you, and for the second time in the same letter, such a *plat de mon métier,* but I was so full of what I had been doing and seeing, that I must have burst if I had not given it vent; and you are the victim. Nothing could be more nattering than the wish both Lord and Lady Grenville expressed

> that we would prolong our stay. We were well inclined to do so, had it been possible, for the style of living is remarkably easy, and everything, without any parade, full of comfort; we shall have no scruple in accepting their invitation for another year, when I hope you will meet us, and share and add to our enjoyments.[113]

And to Sir George Beaumont he gave this account;

> Our next visit was to Dropmore: you ask me how I liked the flower garden. I like that + every thing else there: my judgement however may have been somewhat biased, as he professes himself to have been my pupil: the whole is a creation + I think does great honour to the creator. I shall not enter into any details or this letter would never end. I was highly pleased (so we were all) with Lord Grenville + I rather flatter myself that there is no love lost. We are in correspondence onto subjects in which we both take interest; improvement of scenery, particularly of woods + trees by clearing + pruning, both of which tho' he has cleared a good deal are much wanting at Dropmore; + accent, quantity pronunciation +ca. I had lately a letter of thirteen pages from him, + shall give him a Rowland for his Oliver. He is so eager on the subject of pruning + opening views + so much wishes to see my operations but for that I believe he + Lady Grenville, who we also like extremely + who is quite as eager on all points of improvement as he is, would have come to Foxley this year, if the state of his health had not made it necessary or at least prudent to be within reach of advice.[114]

Following that visit he wrote a long letter to Grenville*, see* Appendix 8. Unfortunately, the letter of thirteen pages referred to in Price's letter to Beaumont, which it can be assumed Grenville sent to Price in reply, has not come to light. This would indicate the extent to which the Grenvilles had absorbed that rather didactic letter, and whatever Price may have said to them at Dropmore. It has been suggested by Watkins and Cowell, based on his published correspondence with Rogers and Beaumont, that Price advised the Grenvilles at Dropmore.[115] On a first reading, the letter to Grenville looks like advice. However, it is evident that much of its contents is of other matters, such as the need for thinning and the behaviour of different species of trees, with which the Grenvilles would have been more than familiar after 32 years working to improve the landscape at Dropmore and Boconnoc, and moreover doing this to satisfy their own taste. It is included as an Appendix since it contains some descriptive material about Dropmore, but it should be regarded as a useful summary of Price's opinions and practices rather than those of the Grenvilles.

Price's letter reveals a striking, and given his attachment to intricacy and variety, surprising, insight into his approach to the selection of trees when thinning plantations 'one may with little scruple yet still with some degree of caution, cut down any tall neighbours of indifferent forms that begin to press against them'. Having got rid of those trees of 'indifferent forms' he suggested thinning what remained to 'proper distances' then pruning back any that intruded into the canopies of better trees so the latter could grow on to become valuable

timber. It was in this way he thought variety could be introduced into woodland. That is an approach to pruning driven perhaps by Price's experience as a forester seeking the most profit from an estate in a part of Herefordshire that produces trees of great vigour and quality. Grenville's land was rather different and the growth of trees less spectacular, the much-cossetted trees in the Pinetum at Dropmore being exceptions.[116] His approach to pruning was quite different, as he described to Anne in his criticism of the way John Bowen, the Steward at Boconnoc from 1811, was managing the Boconnoc woodland. This suggests that Grenville would have listened attentively to Price on his visit and read his letter with care, but saw the subject through rather different eyes.

> It is not that any of the best trees are cut, but that several indifferent ones are taken out in situations where they will be missed – one in particular, at the very top of the Grove near the House, & another near the opening of Sowden's Valley, & one or two others in cases of less importance, but still where they are missed.[117]

The one 'fresh' piece of information would have been the references by Price to how he formed 'pictures (a very numerous collection to which I am always adding) …. even to a twig,'. That no doubt would have interested the Grenvilles, as it is revealing to the garden historian today, but there is no evidence that this led them to adopt his practices in place of their own well-tried approach to landscape improvement. In his letters to Rogers and Beaumont, it is likely he was 'showing off' to his friends that on this one, very brief, visit, with Lord Essex, he had established such a close rapport so there was 'no love lost between [him] and the great man'. No doubt Grenville would have treated Price with the politeness of a seasoned diplomat, and it was his habit to be modest about his own achievements.[118] Although Grenville lived for a decade after this brief encounter, no evidence of any further contact between the two has emerged.

When completed the outlines of the Dropmore plantations as they were to be seen from the House, the gardens, or on the approaching drive have the serpentine or undulating forms which will be considered in greater depth in relation to Boconnoc in Chapter 4. This pattern persisted long after Grenville's death. Such maps and plans as there are, the two road diversion plans and the Bryant Map of Buckinghamshire 1825, record only major blocks of woodland, and do not reflect the steady rate of planting by Grenville since 1792. No surviving notes or plans relating to Dropmore, of a kind which were prepared about planting on the wider estate at Boconnoc, have come to light. The first clues appear in the 1870 OS and in later editions.

The figure below, with the outlines of planting enhanced in red, is based on the 1910 edition of the OS for the sake of clarity. (fig. 47) As at Boconnoc, lines of beauty and of grace

are used where the edges of plantations could be seen by the Grenvilles and their visitors when enjoying the grounds.

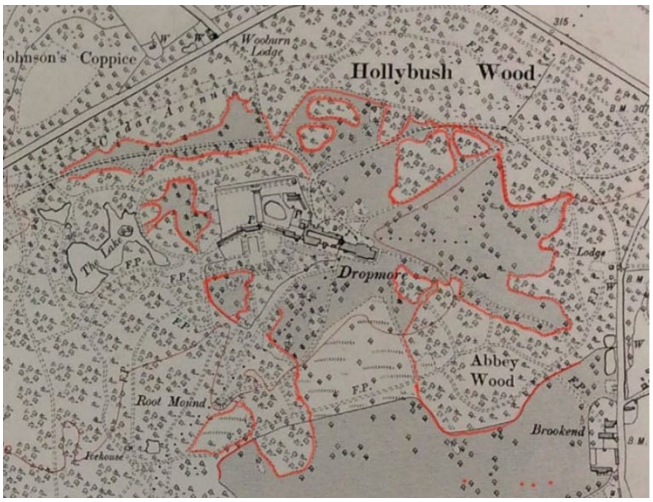

Figure 47; Outlines of planting near the House at Dropmore in 1910, enhanced in red. © Author

J C Buckler at Dropmore

The most eloquent backward glance at the structures built at Dropmore by the Grenvilles is to be found in the extensive collection of drawings by J. C. Buckler, one of the most remarkable architectural draftsmen of the nineteenth-century. A pupil of Francis Nicholson (1753 -1844), the 'father' of English watercolour landscape painting,[119] he travelled the country recording great houses, cathedrals and churches and landscapes. A skilful architect in his own right, he was runner-up to Charles Barry (1795-1860) in the 1836 competition to design the new Houses of Parliament in Westminster. The Buckler collection includes some 95 pencil sketches of interiors and scenes at Dropmore and Eton, architectural drawings made between 1815 and 1846,[120] six were used to illustrate the *Essays,see figs***** and there is one drawing of Boconnoc.[121]

As with any architectural drawings it cannot necessarily be concluded that what was drawn was in fact built, unless the context or other sources show that to have been the case. Buckler had the ability to draw buildings which had been lost (Stowe, Kilkhampton) or very badly damaged (Cliveden), by following contemporary images, as if they still existed. However, nearly all of his drawing can be said to give a fair account of what he saw on the ground. They provide an insight into the lives of the Grenvilles beyond any written accounts. The drawings are reproduced in Appendix 6, set out in different categories which bring particular aspects of the Grenvilles' lives into sharper focus. From these a number of general conclusions can be drawn.

Buckler was no passive observer of the development of the Dropmore gardens and landscape, but, after 1815, a participant in their evolution. It is not necessary to pin down the extent to which he acted as architect, although he did provide some architectural drawings, as may be seen. It is plain from the sequence of drawings relating to the seat of Mammea he was part of the process that led to the realisation of an idea which was of significance for Grenville, as explained in the *Essays*. He provided initial sketches then returned to record how they had been given effect by craftsmen. What is evident is that he was able to generate drawings to help give substance to the Grenvilles' ideas.

Above all, Dropmore was a home: two significant details emerge from his drawings and the ground floor plan of the house. First, despite its overall size and the reception rooms being located on the first floor, it was laid out to encourage intimacy. The simple round table in the dining room and the billiard table in what the marble busts and floor would suggest might otherwise be dressed as a very grand hall, make this apparent. This squares with other accounts of their social modesty. Second, Grenville's sanctuaries, his study and library in which he spent much of the day, looked straight out at the garish bedding, the pots, vases and climbing supports and under the luxuriantly planted trellis that girdled the house on that side. It is simply not credible that this arrangement would have come to be without Grenville's enthusiastic participation in these horticultural adventures, and helps to dispel any idea that Anne was in sole charge of the immediate garden during Grenville's lifetime.

Buckler's general views of the gardens and of those pots and vases do not significantly add to the descriptions given by visitors such as Loudon, although they are interesting in their own right. However, the drawings of cottages and those of the seats and other garden structures add a good deal to other accounts. They portray a number of lost features, like the Arch of the Terrace and the Root Mound, in a way that cannot be visualised from the generalised descriptions of visitors.Turning first to the cottages and farmhouse, these show how the Grenvilles developed their own interpretation of a cottage ornée style, with an emphasis on timber framing and gables. (fig. 48) These still find echoes in modern developments in the vicinity such as in Heathfield Road Burnham.

Figure 48; North East View of the Double Cottage at Dropmore J C Buckler Add MS 36358, f. 96. 1830 © British Library

Their cottages can be distinguished from the tile-hung buildings especially characteristic of counties south east of the Thames and the knapped flint of the Chilterns to the north. They showed sufficient versatility to stray into imitating a log cabin in the American Cottage and cladding a lodge in trunks of trees on the Burnham side in the Russian manner. The latter was described by Loudon as a 'false note of preparation for a place which, in other respects, is generally in consistent taste'.[122] As was the convention of the time, 'classic' architecture was confined to the house and its immediate grounds and the less formal on the wider estate. In this thesis the word classic is as used by Grenville in *Dropmore.*

The profusion of seats at Dropmore indicates the emphasis the Grenvilles placed on contemplation, both of scenes in the garden and of private thoughts. If the Entrance to the Pinetum from the Flower Garden and the Ice House are included (they both incorporate seats) the Buckler drawings show no less than 12 dispersed about the garden before Grenville's death, to which should be added the London Bridge Recess since Grenville had the acquisition of this in contemplation before he died.[123] There were also less formal seats such as that shown by Buckler to have built round a tree to the east of the house and another placed in front of the Pergola. There must have been others. It appears that the building of seats accelerated first after Grenville stood down as Leader of the Opposition and then again after his stroke in 1823. This is an indication, perhaps, of his need to be out in the open air and close to nature even when his mobility was severely limited.

It is convenient to group the Garden Seats and Structures under three heads, the Rustic, the Classic and the Associative. Rusticity seems to have been kept well out of view from the immediate grounds of the house. In two of the rustic seats, The Chancellor's Laurel and one simply notated 'A Seat', a classic note creeps in with rectilinear elevations and pillars, albeit made from tree trunks. However, they all fall neatly into the category of Rustic buildings as described in the *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture,*[124] i.e. simple, plain and made of rough

materials, save two. The Arch of The Terrace and the Root Mound, excluding the rustic seat at its summit, are included in this category because they are made of rough materials, but they do need to be recognised as having a distinctive character of their own, being neither simple nor plain. They are both, in effect, living structures which would change and vary with their mantles of plants and through the decay of timber, in a way that the inert imitation branches in concrete materials, the so-called *faux bois,* or *la rocaille,* do not. These were widely used for seats, bridge railings and garden ornaments in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. Even the gravel of the root mound was relatively unstable and was topped up on at least two occasions after it was first formed in 1822. They may be seen as an examples of Nature as organic art. Although placed with art the roots and branches were fashioned by nature and, as is their nature, would decay, meanwhile providing changing habitats for small species as if they still lay rotting on the forest floor. In visual terms they were grotesque and interesting rather than being intended to display any impression of beauty.

Away from these ambitious adventures with natural materials it was the classic which dominated the architecture of the immediate grounds of the house. Grottos were honorary members of the family of classic eighteenth-century landscape buildings and the Grotto was therefore not inappropriate in this otherwise rather formal architectural space. The Aviary is another exception, the design of this cast iron cage, as with the pergola being driven more by function than style.

As for the rest of the buildings and structures, classical form was followed rather than classical substance. Although there is a suggestion by Buckler in his drawing that there might be some sort of statuary in the façade of the proposal for a seat at the west end of the Terrace, there does not appear to have been any of the classical iconography of the kind to be found at Stowe (fig. 49) or elsewhere. This cannot have been because of any dislike of figurative sculpture as such, since the hall at Dropmore was home to the six busts of family and friends by Giovanni Battista Comolli (1775-1831). It is more likely that Grenville saw such things set into the landscape as pompous expressions of public display and an extravagance he could do without. In any event his head was filled with classical literature and he would not, himself, have any need for these sorts of prompts.

Figure 49; The Vanbrugh Rotunda, Stowe. J. C. Buckler. Add MS 36358 f. 119, © British Library

Originally designed for a statue of Venus, it contained a statue of Bacchus when drawn by Buckler.

For him the significance of the seat of Mammea was, evidently, not in the iconography of the Priestess Mammea, but in the evocation of the scenes of Pompeii he wished he had seen, and might have enjoyed from that seat.[125] For this reason, the seat can be grouped with the associative, rather than the classic, elements at Dropmore.

Those associative features were not confined to built forms, but included such organic mementos as trees, notably, some of the Pinetum trees, the three trees planted by the Grenville brothers together, the Boscobel Oak and, almost certainly, birds in the aviary which had a particular provenance, such as the silver pheasants sent from Castle Hill.[126] Grenville was exploring the history of Herne's Oak in Windsor Forest and would no doubt have collected an acorn of that fabled tree to grow on for Dropmore, had it not been cut down in 1796. (fig. 50).[127] In recognising that objects in nature could have associative values, Grenville found himself on common ground with Knight.

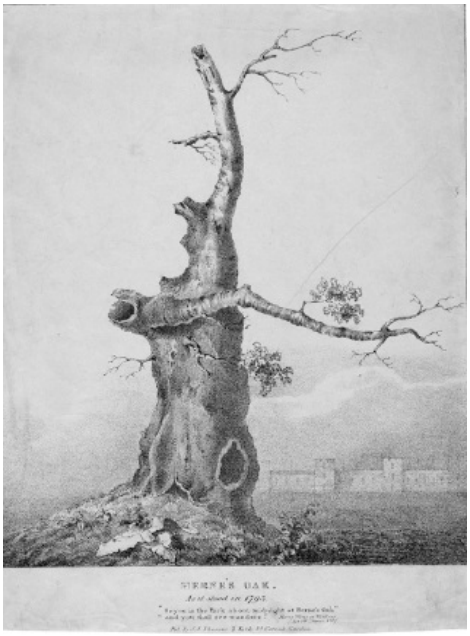

Figure 50; Herne's Oak, Windsor Forest, as it stood in 1795. R. S. Thomas © The Royal Windsor Forum

Buckler was concerned only with architectural forms. He recorded the stone set for the Boscobel Oak and the draft wording for the marker of the Birthday Oak. It is not surprising that the favourite dogs, Tippo,[128] and Zephyr, would be memorialised in the garden as they were in verse. Buckler does not record the tomb of Zephyr but his proposal for the tomb of Tippo was evidently given effect. Although Colson Stone have questioned whether the Tomb was, in fact, approached through the floral arch drawn by Buckler, it is highly likely that it was, given Anne's affection for dogs and her skills in trellis gardening.

There are two elements drawn by Buckler about which it is difficult to say whether they were associative, or, as with many other features of the garden, erected just for fun. Although the demolition of London Bridge was not completed in time for the London Bridge Recess to be brought to Dropmore before his death, Grenville had been following the legislation leading to its renewal and was in correspondence about the Recesses in 1829. London Bridge had been very much part of the fabric of the city during Grenville's active political life and might, therefore, have had a symbolic significance for him. In that they were calm and classic features in the otherwise vernacular hubbub of the Bridge, they reflected Grenville's personality very well. On the other hand, as seats go, these were intrinsically attractive and unusual and that may have been the reason for the acquisition of one of them. The same uncertainty applies to the Chinese seat. This was not in the 'chinoiserie' style popularised, among others by Willliam Chambers (1723-1796), in the 18th century but a heavier evocation of China, and, as can be seen, a place to show off yet more of the pots, of

which the Grenvilles were so fond, this time the more fragile Chinese glazed-ware. Imported Chinese tiles had already been used to line the lower part of the walls of the Aviary. Grenville had been Foreign Secretary at the time when the 1st Earl Macartney (1737-1806) was sent on the first diplomatic mission to the Chinese Emperor in 1793. Grenville, at his desk, and with his maps, would have seen all the dispatches sent back. It is more than likely Grenville, described by Jupp as being insular and xenophobic in relation to European Affairs, would nonetheless add it to his list of places he would have liked to have seen, as with Pompeii.

If it was the intention of Grenville, with the help of Anne, to create a garden and a landscape quite unlike anything to be seen elsewhere in the country, and, in particular, unlike any of the properties he had known as a child, he was outstandingly successful at Dropmore. He seems to have paid little attention to the landscape outside the Park Pale, new cottages apart, save for applying the same techniques as he did at Boconnoc to the outlines of plantations and the introduction of individual trees to soften them. His agenda-oriented philosophy and his response to topography, led him to concentrate on the land within the Park Pale round his home at Dropmore rather than on the sort of extensive improvements he made at Boconnoc. These differences in approach are compared in Chapter 5.

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[1] Rogers, Samuel, *Written at Dropmore, July 1831* (London: Cadell, 1834).
[2] In the most detailed study of the Dropmore landscape to date *Dropmore Estate; Historic Landscape Masterplan*. 2013 Colson Stone have divided its development into the period up to 1806 and from 1806 to 1834 and then in separate periods as ownership changed. That break point is tied to the date when Charles Tatham took over as architect from Samuel Wyatt. For the purposes of this thesis the 1801 date is preferred as this is the time when Grenville is released from office and the Grenvilles articulate their views about landscape for the first time in: Grenville, The Tour to South Wales etc.
[3] BL Add MS 69170, f.11, Robert Charsley to Grenville, 13 December 1791.
[4] Ibid, f.15.
[5] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol II,* 236.
[6] Jupp, *Lord Grenville; 1759-1834,* 296.
[7] Gray, Thomas, *The Letters of Thomas Gray* (London: John Sharpe, 1827), 16.
[8] Lipscomb, George,*The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckinghamshire. Vol III* (London: J & W Robins, 1847), 224.
[9] Symes, Michael, *Mr Hamilton's Elysium: The Gardens of Painshill* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2010), 23-25.
[10] Green, David and Ruth Beckley, *Gerrards Cross Buckinghamshire Historic Towns Assessment Report* (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire County Council., 2011).
[11] BL Add MS 69042, f.99.
[12] Buckingham to Grenville 1791, December 15 Stowe. Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore,* Vol II, 240.

> I shall be ready to contribute my mite to your purchase, but I must do it by the ridiculous mode of desiring you to advance it for a few weeks or months; for when I found Chalfont closed against you I listened to a Somerset tempter, and have engaged to pay 3000*l.* in the course of January; and, therefore, I must leave you (under the assurances that it is not inconvenient to you) to your own resources, of which I am delighted to find that you speak so pleasantly.....

> As to your buildings, I will beg you not to be in a hurry, for you will rob me of much amusement if you deny to me *voix au chapitre* in cobbling an old house.

[13] These three passages taken from the Fortescue papers before their deposit at the British Library were quoted in Eleanor Vere Boyle, *Seven Gardens and a Palace* (J. Lane, 1900), 41-42. Known as EVB, Boyle was the wife of a clergyman who bought Huntercombe Manor from Grenville and who became a great friend and neighbour of Louisa Fortescue. An illustrator of several books of fairy stories, an able artist her recollections of Dropmore of some importance. However, when it comes to the description of why Grenville chose to build at One Tree Hill she appears to have romanced the tale, Grenville having come by the property by chance. There is no primary evidence confirming the accuracy of her account of how Grenville came to know that particular place even if the picture she paints of the prospect from Dropmore when she knew it at the close of the nineteenth-century may have been quite accurate.

> It was a half-holiday at Eton College, seven miles away in the valley by the river. Youth makes nothing of a few miles more or less, and an Eton boy of fourteen, who had run over to spend a long hour at his favourite haunt, threw himself down in the heather and dreamed once more his wonted dream. The view from the schoolboy's chosen point is as fine now as it was in those long-ago days. In the middle distance Windsor Castle rises like a vision from the midst of a great tract of forest land – for as a forest the hedge-row trees and wood appear. With the aid of a glass one can distinguish the sentry's red coat on the North Terrace above the smoke and old red roofs of Windsor town; while in clear weather the flag on the Round Tower is distinctly visible. Scenes of blue distance above the Castle's highest towers roll on into the far horizon beyond Hindhead and Blackdown and the Surrey Hills. Little wonder that an imaginative boy should feel the spell while his eye received the aerial beauty of the scene. Here, then, when he grew to be a man, he would build a house; here he would live, and his boyhood's dreams should be a reality.

Harriet Grote, writing in 1858, offered a more plausible explanation, that it was his aim to lay hold on every estate in the south of the county of Bucks which came into the market, in the view of strengthening of the Grenville interest in the elections, especially of the two members for the county'. Harriet Grote, *Some Account of the Hamlet of East Burnham (1858)* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing (reprint), 2010); Cited by Burnham Historians et al., *Dropmore and Littleworth, the Story of a South Bucks Parish* (Maidenhead: Burnham Historians, 1996), 26.

[14] BL Add MS 69107, f.29, Robert Charsley to Grenville, 17 February 1792.

[15] Charsley, Robert, *Letters and Papers from Robert Charsley, Solicitor, Beaconsfield to Lord Grenville Re Acquisition and Management of Dropmore, 1791 - 1797*, BL Add MS 69107, ff.29, 32 & 36.

[16] Quarme, Giles & Associates, *Dropmore Heritage Statement* (Available online from South Bucks District Council: March 2013), 20.

[17] BL Add MS 69170, f.65, Robert Charsley to Grenville, 1 August 1792.

[18] Burnham Historians et al., *Dropmore and Littleworth*, 27.

[19] Packe, A. H., *Burnham's Prime Minister* (Aylesbury: Self-Published Typescript, Copy held at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Catalogue number D-X 1136/16., 1986), 3-9.

[20] Ibid., 8.

[21] 13 Geo. III, Ch 78. (1773).

[22] Jupp, Peter, *Lord Grenville; 1759 - 1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1985), 296.

[23] Ibid., 116.

[24] Sweet, Christian, *Colson Stone ; Dropmore Estate; Historic Landscape Masterplan* (Available online from South Bucks District Council March 2013), Para. 2.1.5.

[25] The following passages are all from Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol II.

[26] This is a reference to the central plank of Grenville's foreign policy. That Britain should subsidize continental powers to keep France in check rather than committing British troops. Jupp, *Lord Grenville,* 283.

[27] https://www.forestry.gov.uk/forestry/infd-6arg5y [accessed 25.9.2017].

[28] Mitchell, A. F., *Forestry Commission: Forest Record No 48. The Dropmore Pinetum* (London: Forestry Commission, 1963).

[29] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* Vol III. Lord Mornington (then Governor-General of India) to Grenville, 18th November 1798.

[30] Baillie, William and John Claudius Loudon, "Some Account of the Flower-Gardens and the Pinetum at Dropmore, the Seat of Lord Grenville", *The Gardener's Magazine*, 1828.

[31] Jupp, *Lord Grenville,* 296.

[32] Robinson, J. M., *Temples of Delight; Stowe Landscape Gardens.* (Andover: Pitkin Pictorials and The National Trust, 1990). 103.

[33] Mitchell, *Forest Record No 48*; and Patrick Stileman, *Dropmore Pinetum Management Plan* (Available online from South Bucks District Council: December 2014).

[34] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 300.

[35] Ibid., 299-30.

[36] BL Add MS 59492, ff. 71 & 72. Correspondence re Genville's Overdraft, September 1811.
[37] BL Add MS 69171 & 69173. On Wyatt's death it was claimed he owed his estate £8,000.
[38] Thought to be by Giovanni Battista Comolli (1775-1831, working in London 1816-1820), the attribution given by the British Museum to the identical bust of Tom Grenville now in the British Library.
[39] BL Add MS 69158 & 69159, A Tour to South Wales etc, Grenville and Anne. 1801.
[40] CBS D56/1.9, Grenville to Tom, 3 August 1801.
[41] The fair copy was made by Anne Grenville from a draft, at BL Add MS 69160.
[42] Andrews, Malcolm, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1989).
[43] Gilpin, William, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales, &C. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer of the Year 1770.* (London: Blamire, 1782 (previously circulated in manuscript)).
[44] Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting.* From the dedication to William Lock (December 1791) printed before the first essay. 'In what then do we offend? At the expence of no other species of beauty, we merely endeavour to illustrate, and recommend one species more…. We leave to then the general admirer of the beauties of nature to his own pursuits; nay we admire them with him: all we desire, is, that he would leave us as quietly in the possession of our amusements.'
[45] Thomas West went so far as to give explicit instructions about where to stand. In due course provision would be made for those in search of picturesque views, e.g. Claife Station, listed Grade II, built in the late eighteenth-century specifically to provide a viewing point for Lake Windermere.
[46] Gilpin, *Observations,, see* Andrews, *The Picturesque: Sources and Documents.*(East Sussex:Helm, 1994) Vol I., 249.
[47] Repton, Humphrey, *A Letter to Uvedale Price, Esq, an Appendix to Sketches and Hints* (London: Boydell, 1794).
[48]Grenville, William Wyndham (The Rt .Hon. Lord Grenville). *Dropmore, Short Essays on Landscape* (British Library Shelfmark G. 3241*, 1830). p. 15.
[49] BL Add MS 69158, ff.34 &35.
[50] Ibid., f.27.
[51] Andrews, *Sources*, Vol I., 245.
[52] Gray, Thomas, *Journal of His Tour in the Lake District* (London: 1768).
[53] Wood, Min, "A Picturesque Excursion into South Wales: Extracts from the Journal of James White," *The Picturesque,* 63, no. Summer 2008 (2008).
[54] BL Add 69158, f.8.
[55] Ibid., f.32.
[56] Grenville, *Dropmore.,* 5.
[57] BL Add 69158, f.13. In using this term they were following Walpole and Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*.
[58] Symes, M., "William Pitt the Elder: The Gran Mago of Landscape Gardening."
[59] Lord Roseberry, *Chatham, His Early Life* (1910), 40.
[60] Fitzgerald, Sarah and Min Wood, *Down House, Attribution to Lancelot Brown. A Report for Dorset Gardens Trust.* (2014).
[61] Phibbs, John, *Place-Making; the Art of Capability Brown* (Swindon: Historic England, 2017), Ch.21, 269-271 'The assassination of Capability Brown'.
[62] Gilpin, *Three Essays,* Essay II. Andrews, *Sources*, Vol. II, 20.
[63] Heath, Charles, *A Descriptive Account of the Kymin Pavillion and Beaulieu Grove with Their Various Views; Also a Description of the Naval Temple.* (Monmouth.: 1807).
[64] Taylor, Kristina and Robert Peel, *Passion, Plants and Patronage, 300 Years of the Bute Family Landscapes.* (London: Artifice 2012), 106.
[65] BL Add MS 69047, ff.24,26,34,35 & 37. Correspondence between Anne and the Gilberts of Bodmin Priory.
[66] The first line of this is adapted from Petrarch (trans. Wrangham.)
[67] Gilpin, *Observations on the river Wye,* Section VI. Andrews, *Sources* Vol. I, 262.
[68] BL Add MS 69159, f.14.
[69] Baillie, William, "Letter," *Gardener's Magazine*, 22 December 1829-1830, 406, *see* Appendix 5.
[70] Baillie, William, "Letter p. 110," *New England Farmer,* October 22 1830.
[71] Baillie and Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine.* 1828, *see* Appendix 5.
[72] Frost, Philip, "Letter Dated 2nd September 1833," *The Gardener's Magazine*, 1833, Vol XI, 559-61, *see* Appendix 5.
[73] Mitchell, *Forest Record No 48,*
[74] Boyle, *Seven Gardens* Kindle edn. Loc 462.
[75] Baillie and Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine.* 1828. S*ee* Appendix 5.

[76] Frost, Philip et al, 'Coniferous Trees Dropmore'. Copy of a Printed Garden Record Book Completed in Manuscript. 72 Sides and Cover. Contains 350 References., 1829 - 1913, Boconnoc House, (Currently unavailable) *see* Appendix 7.
[77] www.bedgebury@forestry.gsi.gov.uk
[78] For a study of the introduction of *Araucaria Auraucana see* Gedye. David 'The Introduction of *Araucaria araucana* into the British Isles' *International Dendrology Society Yearbook, 2017* 59-78. (2018)
[79] BL Add MS 58902, f.187, Tom to Anne, 7 December 1835 …'I was glad to hear a very prosperous account of view from Mrs Lewis, & the weather has been so mild & so entirely without for, that you must have very much enjoyed your new extended walk from the Cedar Avenue to the Pinetum.'
[80] J.H.D, "Dropmore Maidenhead, Bucks," *Supplement to the Journal of Horticulture*, 8th March 1906.
[81] Boyle, *Seven Gardens* Kindle edn. Loc 559.
[82] Maxwell, Sir H. C. *Trees, a Woodland Notebook* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1915), 191.
[83] "The Cedar Avenue at Dropmore," *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1899, Vol. I, 138-139.
[84] Baillie and Loudon, *The Gardener's Magazine.* 1828 *see* Appendix 5.
[85] Stileman, *Management Plan,* 6.
[86] Sweet, *Dropmore Estate,* 54.
[87] BL Add MS 69159, ff.27-29, passage relating to Hampton Court, Herefordshire.
[88] BL Add MS 58873, f.183, Grenville to Anne, 'Today we stuck almost twenty stakes in Prouda Park, to break & vary the two lines of beeches there.' *See* Appendix 2.
[89] So described by Grenville, BL Add MS 69145, from f.200. Grenville's working notes on books etc. Add MS 69050, f.187, Anne to Fortescue, 9 September 1858, 'I am glad to hear of your cutting operations near the Cedar Walk [Dropmore] it was much wanted there.'
[90] Jesse, Edward, *Favourite Haunts and Rural Studies; Including Visits to Spots of Interest in the Vicinity of Windsor and Eton* (London Murray, 1847), 229.
[91] Troup, Cynthia K. *Lady Anne Grenville, an Unsung Heroine in Garden History?* (University of Bristol, 2004).
[92] Anon, "Original Beauty of Lines and Forms," *The Gardener's Magazine*, 1828, 247, *see* Appendix 5.
[93] BL Add MS 69047.
[94] Loudon, *Gardening Tours 1831-1842*, 645. *See* Appendix 5.
[95] Baillie and Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine.* 1828. 257-269
[96] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine.* 1833. 643. *See* Appendix 5.
[97] Ibid.
[98] BL Add MS 58902, ff.91, 95, Tom to Anne, 1833. Sharpus was a glass and china merchant in Cockspur Street.
[99] *Dianthus caryophyllus*.
[100] Now known as *Chimonanthus praecox,* Wintersweet.
[101] BL Add MS 69040, f.34; 69041, ff.16, 49, Tom to Grenville, 22 September 1816 and 23 August 1817.
[102] BL Add MS 58873, ff.142, 227, Grenville to Anne, 813. *See* Appendix 2.
[103] Baillie and Loudon, *The Gardener's Magazine.* 1828
[104] BL Add MS 58873, ff.235- 236, 238,248, Grenville to Anne, 813. *See* Appendix 2.
[105] Bacon, Francis, *Of Gardens* (London: Bumpus (Binder), 1625). 'I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.'
[106] Clayden, Peter William. *Samuel Rogers and His Contemporaries* (London: Smith, Elder, 1889) 382.
[107] www.nationaltrust.org.uk/biddulph-grange/garden/features/the-stumpery-at-biddulph-grange. [Accessed 20.5.2018].
[108] "Dropmore," *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 1853, 342.
[109] Ibid.
[110] BL Add MS 69158, f.11.
[111] *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 'A Dandy or Fop; a member of a set of young men who had travelled in Europe and extravagantly imitated Continental tastes and fashions'.
[112] Troide, Lars E., *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Ed)*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 218.
[113] Uvedale Price to Samuel Rogers, from Foxley, 26 July 1824, Clayden, *Samuel Rogers,* 379.
[114] Watkins, Charles and Ben Cowell, *Letters of Uvedale Price* (London: Walpole Society, 2006) 310. Uvedale Price to Sir George Beaumont, 12 September 1824. The reference to Rowland is to the *Chanson de Roland* in the Charlemagne Legends in which the Paladins Oliver and Roland have a long and undecided single combat which results in their friendship.
[115] Watkins, Charles and Ben Cowell, *Uvedale Price, 1747 - 1829, Decoding the Picturesque* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2012) 199.

[116] Mitchell, *Forest Record No 48*, 4.
[117] BL Add MS 58873, f.30, Grenville to Anne, 6 September 1813. *See* Appendix 2.
[118] Typically, writing in 1830 to his friend and political ally Thomas Lewis of Harpton Court, near Radnor, about the correct translation from the Greek of Callimachus, and questioning whether Hamadryads, the spirits of trees, born with each tree died with them. 'As it often happens to the halflearned, I in my ignorance find less difficulty than better scholars do in the passage to which you refer me'. The National Library of Wales, C/1307.
[119] Nicholson, Francis, *The Practice of Drawing and Painting Landscape from Nature, in Water Colours* (London: J Murray, 1820 and 1823).
[120] BL Add MS 36358.
[121] BL Add MS 36360.
[122] Loudon, *Gardening Tours 1831-1842,* 643. *See* Appendix 5
[123] BL Add MS 59449, f.177, Chisholme, Solicitor, to Grenville, 14 October 1829. '… There yet remains two small arches standing which will probably be taken down in about 12 or 18 months from now and should your Lordship wish to have them or any part of them Sir E [Edward] Banks will I am sure have great pleasure in using his interest with the Bridge Committee…to give your Lordship the first offer of them.'
[124] Curl, James Stephens and Susan Wilson. *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture 3rd Edn*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
[125] Grenville, *Dropmore,* 63.
[126] BL Add MS 69050, f.15, Fortescue to Anne, 24 October 1816.
[127] CBS D56/1, 62, Grenville to Tom, 22 February 1830. Herne was the phantom hunter, or Green Man of Windsor Forest impersonated by Falstaff in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor,* 1597.
[128] This dog, the sole survivor of a shipwreck, was found by Grenville on Tenby Beach and became something of a celebrity for having carried its master's pocket book to shore. Lord Grenville, *Nugae Metricae* (Oxford: privately printed for Lord Grenville, 1824), 19-24.

Chapter 4. Boconnoc

It was fortuitous that one of the most beautiful estates in Cornwall should come into the possession of two people with the knowledge and sensitivity to build on the achievements of Camelford. Grenville, with Anne, would further refine the style of improvement which Camelford had developed as he moved from a formal to an informal treatment of the wider landscape. They would also give greater attention to the outline of plantations and increasing the extent of tree cover. The history of the landscape after the death of Grenville shows that his influence persisted into the next generation.

About 350 ha of the Boconnoc Estate was entered, in 1987, into The Historic England Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest, as Grade II*.[1] (fig.51) Boconnoc House was drawn by J. C. Buckler in 1821. (fig. 52)

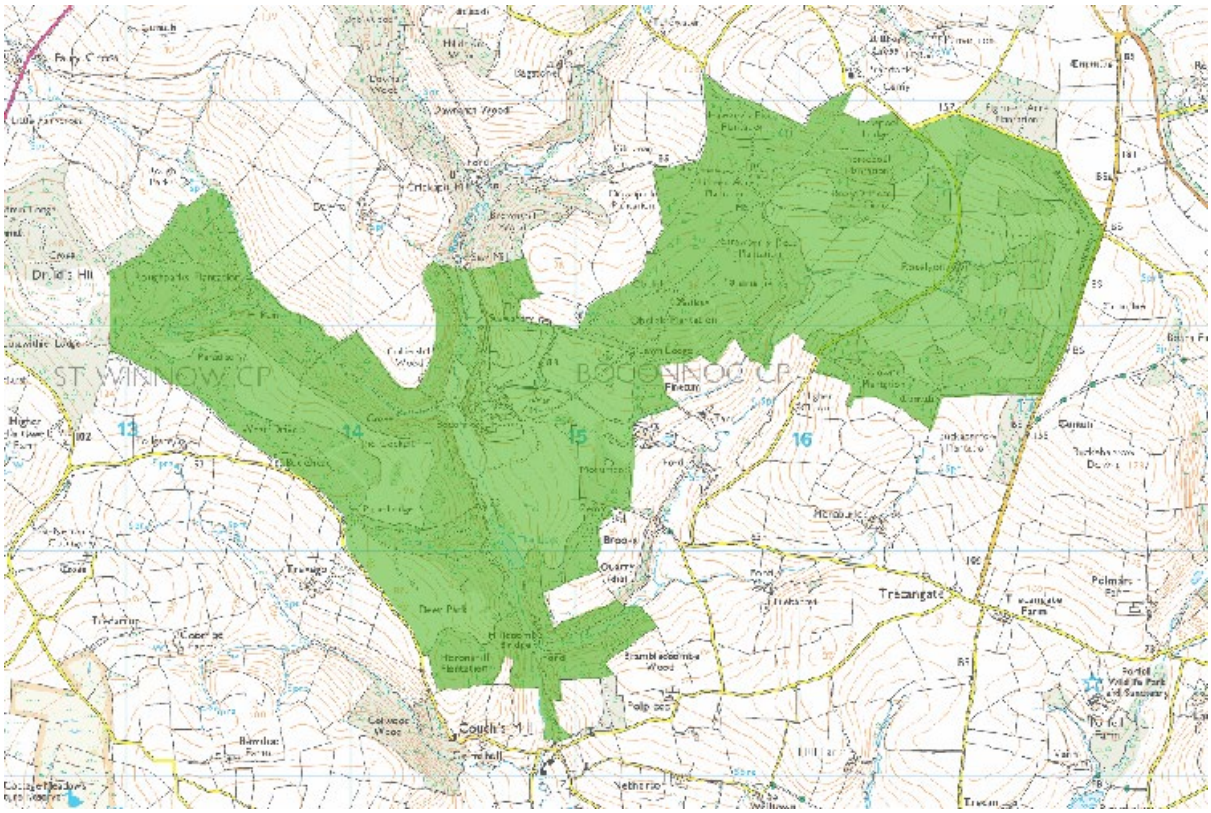

Figure 51; The Registered Landscape, Boconnoc, registered 1987 © Historic England

Figure 52: South East View of Boconnoc House. J C Buckler. July 17th 1821. Add MS 36360 f. 147. © British Library.

The two pistol shots which rang out from the grounds of Holland House, London, on the early morning of 7 March 1804 signalled the beginning of the end of Thomas Pitt, 2nd Lord Camelford, mortally wounded in a quite unnecessary duel.[2] Such an eventuality cannot have surprised either Camelford's sister or his brother-in-law, as during his short and rambunctious life he had been feared dead, or in great danger, on more than one occasion.[3] On Camelford's death 3 days later, Grenville, as the husband of a surviving daughter, inherited Boconnoc and the remaining Pitt estates.

The Foundations of the Pitt Dynasty

The modern history of Boconnoc began in 1717 with the purchase of the estate by Thomas 'Diamond' Pitt (1653-1726), known as the Governor, for £53,000 from the widow of the 4th Lord Mohun, who had also been killed in a duel.[4] Whilst Governor of Madras he had come by a fabulous uncut diamond from a mine in Andhra Pradesh which, when cut, and substantially reduced, he sold to Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans,[5] for £120,000.[6] Camelford later gave this account:[7]

> 'This valuable jewel was brought home in the heel of the boot of his eldest son, my grandfather, & was very near having been buried in the deep with the whole Ship's Company, a large horn having been struck into the bottom of the ship with such force as wrench'd it from some Fish that was sleeping upon the surface, ~~it was then.~~ It was afterwards taken out & presented as a curiosity to Gresham College ~~discover'd~~ and proved the risqué they had run had it been less firmly fix'd ~~into the Ship's Bottom.'~~[8]

What followed is described by Camelford in his manuscript *Family Characters and Anecdotes,* written in 1781 for the benefit of his son Thomas.[9] Financed by the proceeds of the sale, Boconnoc and other properties were added to his portfolio at a time when an extensive holding of land, and with that the control of 'rotten and pocket boroughs', was the key to establishing a presence in Parliament.[10] So successful was he in this that he found himself sitting in the House of Commons with two of his sons and his son-in-law General, later Lord, Stanhope. In this way he laid the foundations for the political dynasty which was to produce both Chatham and Pitt. Although Boconnoc was 'universally allowed to be the first seat in Cornwall',[11] and served his political ambition by adding considerably to his acreage and political leverage, he soon found himself less than overjoyed by his purchase.[12] His interest in the estate was minimal,[13] but in the course of carrying out necessary repairs he turned round the front of the house and its Lawns to face east,[14] rather than the west as had been the early houses on the site, thus giving what had originally been a typical Cornish tower house a Georgian twist.[15] The Pitt estates were, by now, considerable, and spread over several counties. Despite his remodelling of Boconnoc house, it was at Swallowfield in Berkshire on which The Governor lavished the most funds, to the consternation of his family who thought the money wasted 'on an ugly place with no property'.[16] He also considered building at Blandford St Mary, which he bought because the village had been his birthplace. His grandson Thomas Pitt also considered building at Down, outside Blandford St Mary, but died before he could do so.[17] Many years later, the Grenvilles were urged by their agent Watson Sharman (d.1812) to build in in the Tarrant Valley, rather than proceeding with a sale of it;[18]

> I should be more fully prepared to speak to him [Farquar, who in due course bought the ruins of Eastbury, built by Vanburgh and Bridgeman for Bubb Doddington] upon the subject, but that indeed at present I was not quite clear your Lordship did mean to part with it, but I now recommend your Lordship to do so as I despaired of being able to persuade you and Lady Grenville to make a residence of it and that I conceive it to be too Picturesque and valuable a situation to be thus neglected. [19]

Even after the whittling away of property, on marriages and by succession, a good many of the Governor's investments in land remained for Camelford to enjoy. However, between the Governor's death in 1726 and his great-grandson Camelford coming into possession of it on his father's death in 1760, Boconnoc fell once more into disrepair, and into the hands of creditors. His father had, in the event unwisely, invested heavily in finding favour with Frederick, Prince of Wales in the hope of gaining preferment when he became King. His hopes and his fortune collapsed on the early death of the Prince in 1751. Camelford left Thomas an account of the

state in which he found Boconnoc and the reasons for it, together with an excoriating narrative about some of his relations, including Chatham.[20]

Camelford's Inherits

Despite the inconvenience of getting to and from Cornwall, Camelford chose Boconnoc as his country estate rather than the more convenient Down House at Blandford St Mary. Later, the Grenvilles looked to the sale of that and other properties to help fund the development of Dropmore while retaining and improving Boconnoc. This may have been, in part, because of a sentimental attachment to one of Anne's family homes, but the continuing draw of Boconnoc to the Pitts, Grenvilles and Fortescues must also have been due to its remarkable beauty. When it came to the need for a disposal of property by the Fortescues in 1938 to meet death duties,[21] it was Dropmore that went and Boconnoc was retained.

Camelford's financial circumstances improved, but not by as much as he had hoped,[22] after his marriage to Anne Wilkinson, daughter of the Norfolk businessman Pinckney Wilkinson, in 1770. He was, thereafter, able to embark on substantial improvements to the house and its ancillary offices, including a new kitchen garden. A plan in the Cornwall Record Office has been given the date of 1772, but it was probably prepared in two stages. [23] It shows, by means of an overlay, a record of both the old kitchen garden to the south of the house (for the most part erased), and the new kitchen garden located to the east, away from the house, by the entrance to what became known as the Avenue. That change had taken place by November 1771, as appears from the Minute Book.[24] [*See* Appendix 4].

The decisions made by Camelford about the improvement of the estate set a pattern of management right through to the death of Fortescue. The ancient Deer Park would remain, although its boundaries have changed from time to time. The Lawns would continue as a grazed area, without any formal planting but with some forest trees planted sporadically within it.[25] The Shrubbery, now the Dorothy Garden, would be the main focus for the planting of 'sweets' i.e. fragrant or colourful shrubs. The fruit and vegetable garden would be moved away from the house as would the brew-house and other offices necessary for it to function as a family home. The Mill, now Couch's Mill, would be re-located further down the valley out of sight of the house. With a landscape so inherently attractive it is not surprising that emphasis would be put on making the walks and rides which remain, although altered, the means of enjoying the wider grounds.[26]

From Design to Process

It was during Camelford's time at Boconnoc that he took the important step of moving from design to process in the making of the landscape. In the beginning he was strongly influenced by the Classical architecture he had seen on his travels in Europe, and by French taste in garden design. A series of drawings attributed to Camelford demonstrate this.[27] They were all made in contemplation of improvements to the house, and include one drawing of a parterre which shows how, before 1770, Camelford was basing his garden design ideas on French sources, in particular illustrations by Alexandre Le Blond (1679-1716) for a French publication.[28] (fig. 53) From the notations of 'Offices', 'House', 'Rock' and 'Park Hill' on the original document there is no doubt that this design was drawn for Boconnoc. The Minute Book records 'The intended addition to the house containing gallery, drawing room & family apartment over the offices begun 1772 and finished 1774',[29] and it is likely that the proposed parterre was intended to grace those improvements and may be the 'flower garden' referred to later on.[30]

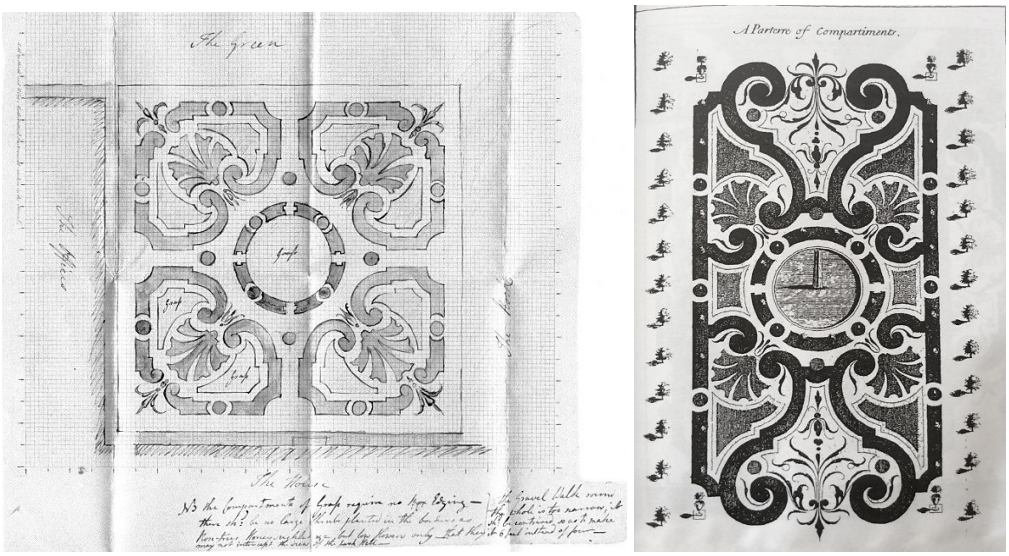

Figure 53; RIBA 94666 Design for a Parterre by Camelford post 1760. © Victoria and Albert Museum. Right Le Blond for d'Argenville -First Plate following p. 38, pre 1709.

Of another drawing, an apparently unimplemented proposal for the South wing, it is suggested that Camelford was basing that idea on the Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza, designed by Palladio and Romano.[31] The wider cultural and creative life of Camelford is discussed in some detail by Vernon.[32] His decision to move away from formal conventions in the layout of the gardens and grounds may well have come, in part, from a realization that these were incompatible with the natural scenery of the Lerryn valley. That this is the case can be

illustrated by a moment captured in a photograph in Dorothy Fortescue's photo album probably taken around 1890, at a time when the Fortescues decided to install a formal parterre in front of the House. (fig. 54) Other photographs suggest that it was short lived, no doubt because, on reflection, it was an awkward intervention in an otherwise beautiful scene.

Figure 54; A formal parterre made a (fortunately) brief appearance in the garden at Boconnoc. c 1890. Dorothy Fortescue's Photograph Album.© Private Collection.

The most prominent structure in the grounds associated with Camelford is the magnificent 123ft-high Obelisk, set on the then-open down to the north of the Lawns dedicated to his benefactor Sir Richard Lyttleton,[33] and built in 1771. The real motive behind this gesture was probably to honour Sir Richard's great generosity of spirit. Through all the vicissitudes of Camelford's relationship with Thomas Pitt, he had promised Sir Richard that he would have no dealings with his father.[34] This was because of the way he had behaved toward his mother, Richard's sister Christian, his sisters and himself, and also because his father was attempting to coerce him into breaking the entail to settle his own debts. However, when the father returned to England from his exile as a debtor, to seek protection from creditors by taking up a 'family' seat for Old Sarum in Parliament,[35] he surreptitiously made contact with Camelford, swearing him to secrecy. Inevitably, Lyttelton found out and, for a time, cut Camelford out of his life,[36] It was only when Camelford showed that he had sorted out his family affairs and provided for his sisters that he was forgiven,[37] and it was with Sir Richard that he was travelling in San Cassiano, in Apulia, when he heard of his father's death in 1761[38]. He was drawn in Italy by Thomas Patch at this time. (fig.55)

Figure 55; Camelford, then Thomas Pitt, in the 1760's [probably in Florence]. Thomas Patch. © National Portrait Gallery.

Although Camelford benefitted under Sir Richard's Will, and was one of his Executors, it was more likely that it was his marriage to the heiress Anne Wilkinson that gave him the means to pay tribute to Lyttelton's generosity of heart by the erection of the Obelisk; a moral rather than a financial debt. In another mark of that affection he had also designed and given the Palladian Bridge or Alcove to the Lytteltons at Hagley on his return from Europe in 1762. (fig. 129) The Obelisk was to become a key point of reference for Grenville in his correspondence with Anne about the Boconnoc landscape and in shaping the landscape north of the house. [*See* Appendix 2]

Camelford was conscious of the way in which people changed their views in the light of experience. As mentioned in the Introduction, in 1781 he wrote for Thomas, 'Somebody says we should live two lives, The one only as experiment that we might know how to make the most of the other'.[39] It seems that about the time he was making the improvements to the house he was beginning to incline toward a less formal approach to garden design, even if he would flirt with classical architecture to the end of his life, just as he had flirted with the Gothic with Horace Walpole

As we have seen in Chapter 1, although Camelford conceived of making Boconnoc a family home, political commitments and poor health, his own and that of Lady Camelford, meant that visits were irregular and sometimes fleeting. A flavour of this is caught in a letter to Benjamin Forster, a fellow student at Cambridge and now Parson at Boconnoc, in 1781;

> …if I can accomplish it I mean to live in my Justice Room & the Library which I would have well aired, and as I mean to use the Bath I should prefer the Bed Chamber upon the ground floor if it is not too damp. Which I suppose would not be the case if it is well air'd with the brazier & if somebody sleeps in it till I come…. I hope to stay

> with you a fortnight & to see as few intruders as possible as I have no servants & must confine myself to a plain joint & a pudding. I conclude that there is strong beer that is drinkable , and if Fooke will take care of it he may get some small beer brew'd that will be drank before it is sour, & Grace will have the yeast to make bread with – do not let them make a fuss with me or think I want two courses, or that I intend to keep open house. I mean this time to live for myself & you & Pennington[40], and to have no two tables or nonsense.[41]

Nonetheless he retained a great love for Boconnoc and wrote to Forster in 1782;

> I protest there is no scheme of life I think of with pleasure but that of ending my days where I began them[42] in the society of the very few & and in the exercise of those duties where I might be sure I was doing good & diffusing happiness around me. As to politics they are a quicksand upon which no wise man would wish to set his foot.[43]

Camelford was quite at ease in the landscape in the way described by Josiah Wedgwood on his visit in 1775. The passage is given in full since it also provides a general description of the appearance of the estate at that time;

> Boconic the seat of Mr. Thos. Pitt - and he being at home, and a friend of mine as well as Mr. Champion, I wished to wait upon him to let him know what has been done respecting Mr. Champions patent [for the making of porcelain]. The lands are inclosed, and in general good - They lett in farms together, at about 10sh. per acre. We enter Buconic down, Mr. Pitts property - several barrows are seen to the right, and to the left - This is a fine down, and at the entrance on it there is a delightful view to the right hand.
>
> The roads are made with quartz which is the natural produce of the land- It lies from 6 to 12 inches under the turf, not on solid strata, but detached pieces - Where these quartz lie the farmers call it Whit stone land -and say it is a sign of bad land. - And I observed the land where they lay was thin of soil and poor, though the trees nevertheless look well and flourishing.
>
> They make their hedge banks and walls of this stone. Upon this down is a handsome Obelisk, 105 feet high, and 12 feet 6 inches diameter, at the base, erected in the year 1771 by Mr. Pitt, to the memory of Sir. Richd. Littleton, with the following inscription. "In gratitude, and affection to the memory of Sir Richard Littleton, and to perpetuate that peculiar character of benevolence, which made him the delight of his own age, and worthy the veneration of posterity."
>
> We now come to Mr. Pitts seat, which is extremely rural and retired, we found him at home, and he took us a walk before dinner, down a sweet valley, with hanging woods on each side, and a clear purling stream in the bottom [Sowdens]. There are several miles of these walks in this valley, and on the declivities of the banks, when we came to a fine old beech tree in the bottom, by the side of the brook, the roots of which were visible in various folds above the surface, Mr. Pitt laid himself easily down, and repeated those fine lines in Greys [sic] Elegy in a Country Churchyard. (fig. 56)
>
> There at the foot of yonder nodding beech,
> that wreaths its old fantastic roots so high,
> his listless length at noon-tide would he stretch,
> and pore upon the brook that babbles by.

> The dinner bell awoke us from our agreeable reverie, and raised in us sensations of another kind which we made haste to satisfy. And after being entertained at this hospitable mansion for a few hours, with great hilarity, and classic elegance, we parted in high good humour and proceeded on or journey to – Lostwithiel....[44]

Figure 56: A seat, of unknown date under a beech tree with views of the Lerryn. © Author 2018.

This may be at the spot where Wedgwood went with Camelford and where Thomas Gray was reputed to sit and is certainly in that general location with views down to the Lerryn.

Later on, from at least 12 September 1790 to 24 March 1791,[45] when Grenville was wooing Anne, Camelford was evidently enjoying himself in the landscape at Boconnoc. Writing to Grenville on 9 December he mentions;

> We have lately been deluged with rain, but commonly contrive every morning to get down to our works in the Mill-coombe Valley where we are very busy. I often reflect on the interesting conversations we have had there together, the subject of which I believe remains precisely as it did when you left us. [46] [evidently the proposed marriage] (fig. 57)

Figure 57; The Bridge on the road to Couch's Mill at the confluence of the Millcombe Stream 2018. © Author

A talented and versatile amateur architect, Camelford was able to work in a number of styles; the strictly Palladian at Hagley, the Corinthian at Stowe, the Gothic at Strawberry Hill,[47] and the Rustic at Park Place, Berkshire.[48] Although his drawing skills were poor, as

may be seen from the design he showed to John Soane for an unexecuted entrance feature for Boconnoc,[49] (fig.58) being well-travelled and well-read, his eye for design was impeccable.

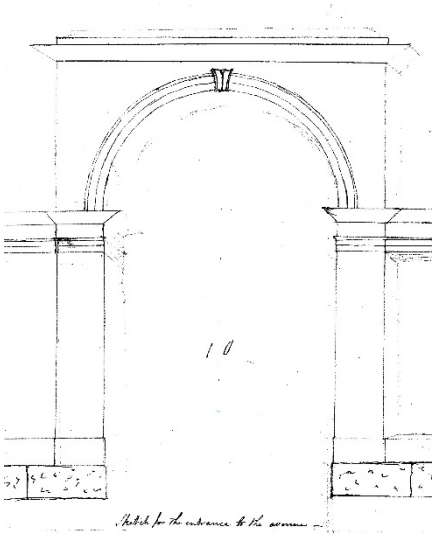

Figure 58; The central arch from 'Sketch for the entrance to the avenue' [unexecuted] drawn by Camelford for Soane. IV. P. 2. © Sir John Soane Museum

Working with others like the mason Edward Batchelor at Stowe and the amateur engineer the Rev. Humphrey Gainsborough (1718-1776) at Park Place those designs could be translated into working drawings. However, he deployed little of that talent on making structures in the landscape at Boconnoc beyond the house, its offices and the walled garden. He evidently preferred small touches for fun like the cascade down through what is now the Stewardry Walk. (fig. 59)

Figure 59; Camelford's Cascade, The Stewardry Walk. 2010 © Author

He also made a Palladian bridge over the Lerryn to lead to Sowdens. That Palladian Bridge was not the grand affair with which he graced Hagley to thank the Lytteltons in 1762, but rather a simple wooden structure, described in the Minute Book as a 'boarden', i.e. boarded bridge. In 1780 Camelford wrote to him from Petersham; 'I am delighted you have improved your scene with an opening to my bridge which they may call by what name they please but

which they will find in Palladio whenever they please to look for it.' His playfulness in architectural matters beyond his own preferences in landscape improvement is evident in a letter he wrote to Soane after visiting Glanum, near St Remy-en-Provence, and seeing the magnificent Julian Mausoleum in 1786. (fig. 60) 'If I were rich as I am poor I protest I would find a place to build at Boconnoc *tel quel* and I do not consider the expense would be enormous, I mean in comparison with many things of like value built every day. [50] Even though his Agent thought he might actually build a mausoleum, that was probably a tease. His unostentatious burial in the churchyard at Boconnoc, at his request without tomb or headstone,[51] is more likely to represent his true aspirations, as expressed in his Will.[52]

Figure 60; The Julian Mausoleum and Arch at Glanum, St Rémy-en-Provence. 2010. © Author.

There can be little doubt that this cultural adventurism was inherited by Anne. It was also fuelled by discussions during their travels on the Continent, with Anne playing hostess during periods of her mother's illnesses.[53] This may explain why she in due course would embrace Grenville's radical plans for Dropmore, and herself engage in an exploration of new forms of planting. The early conversations between Grenville and Camelford may also have given him the confidence to liberate himself from the taste and ambitions of relations and friends, as exemplified at Wotton and Stowe and the other properties mentioned in Chapter 1.

Grenville Inherits

In September 1804 Grenville was at Boconnoc to get to grips with his new possession. By operation of law the legal title in Boconnoc became his for his lifetime, reverting to Anne on his death. Although Grenville and Anne had held a watching brief over the estate during her brother's tenure of it, they could now treat it as their own.

Before the inclosure provided for in the 1809 Act, the appearance of the landscape around Boconnoc was very different to that seen today. The plan prepared for Lord Grenville by

the agent John Bowen in 1812, shows Boconnoc and Braddock as separate village settlements set in long established inclosed fields, largely separated by moorland, known locally as Downs.[54] (fig. 61) The moorland within the control of Lord Grenville is shaded blue, while that in the control of Trewlawney and Lethbridge is shaded brown. It appears that there had been a de facto inclosure of the Obelisk Ground before that date. The plan also shows that the Agar family of Lanhydrock, had already inclosed land on Trevillies Down, by 1809.

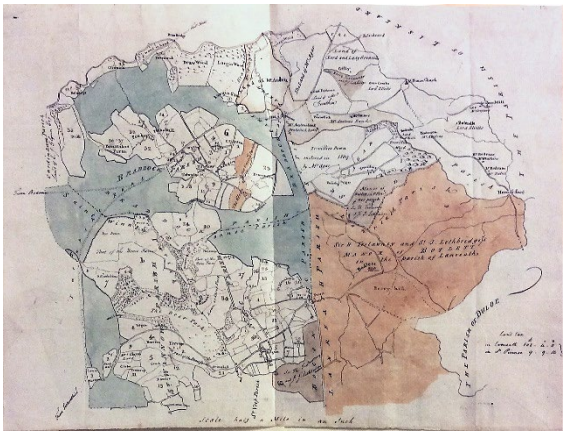

Figure 61, Plan prepared by John Bowen in 1812 and attached to a letter to Lord Grenville dated 12 July 1812 Add MS 59440 f. 11v & f. 12r. © British Library

It was somewhere on those Downs that the battle of Braddock Down was fought in 1642. Sir Bevil Grenville (c.1594-1643) wrote to his wife 'we marched forth, and about noone [sic] came in full view of the enemies whole army upon a fair heath between Boconnocke and Braddocke Church.'[55] Visitors approaching Boconnoc from Liskeard crossed that open down by a track over the downs leading to the Obelisk, with white feldspar markers every quarter mile,[56] as Wedgwood described in his 1775 Journal.[57] Gilpin had also commented that the 'wild heath' was 'in the same style of dreary landscape, which we have found between Launceston and Bodmin'.[58]

Quite apart from questions of land use, there were other features which might surprise the modern visitor. The cows and horses on the Lawns and in the stable yard may easily be imagined but less so this landscape punctuated by thatched cottages and hovels,[59] and with the House itself rendered and appearing quite white rather than the restrained grey of stone, seen since the removal of the render. The render was a legacy of the attempts by Soane between 1785 and 1788, on instructions from Camelford, to make the house weatherproof.[60] The render appears in family photographs until well after Anne's death.[61] This whiteness would not have

been thought to be incongruous to the Grenvilles as they would see that in this 'the sentiment of human happiness lends itself with that of the beauties of nature' *see* Chapter 2[62] At Dropmore, the house they created was also rendered and colour-washed white as seen in Bowen's drawing (fig. 62).

Figure 62; An engraving of Boconnoc from a drawing by J. Bowen, c. 1820. © Private Collection.

Figure 63; Boconnoc House. 2014. ©Author.

The church, now so prominent in views from the south, was largely concealed by tall trees growing on the bank below it and near the churchyard, as may be seen from the Buckler drawing of 1821. (fig. 63) A sketch by Fortescue's daughters around 1852, which is possibly more carefully drawn, shows forest trees that must have been established for many years. (fig. 64) The small lake today seen glinting in the middle ground was not to be made until 1884. The church tower was not built by Fortescue until 1838.[63]

Figure 64; The view from the King's Bedroom to Boconnoc Church c1852 by Louisa and Harriet Fortescue. Add MS 69373 f. 200 (copy by Mary Fortescue, original at HRO 115M88, F6 2.18) © British Library

The 'Minute Book'

A series of folios in the Minute Book give an insight into the priorities for both Camelford and Grenville in the management of Boconnoc. [*See* Appendix 4] The Minute Book, which has no cover and only a simple thread binding, must have been kept by Camelford and Grenville in turn with the estate papers, rather than being kept by staff in which event it would almost certainly have been lost to the archives. They are dealt with together as they demonstrate how Grenville carried on the general thrust of Camelford's approach to estate mangement. The repeated pattern of the making of draft instruction to staff, followed by entries in the Minute Book suggests that Grenville used material he found in Camelford's papers in 1804 to guide his own approach to estate management. In the case of Grenville, his draft was preceded by a small aide-memoire. Copies of each of these are in Appendix 4. Both men took on the property after periods of poor management; Camelford after the depredations of his father's creditors in 1761, as noted in *Family Characters and Anecdotes,*[64] and Grenville after the erratic and largely absent proprietorship of Thomas in the years between 1793 and 1804.[65] In entries which will resonate with any owner of an historic estate today they both began by noting the need to put roofs into good repair.[66]

On taking possession, Camelford had in mind the need for substantial changes to the basic layout of the place, with plans for the house, changes to the ancillary buildings, new roads, new lodges, and the relocation of the kitchen garden. Both, however, set about dealing with essential repairs and proposals for planting as priorities, although Camelford makes very few references to planting in his notes. The principle difference between the two is in the horticultural and arboricultural detail. That perhaps reflects the contrasting approach of the amateur architect and the amateur horticulturalist. Both classicists, Camelford may be said to have inclined toward the spirit of Virgil's *Eclogues*, Grenville toward the more earthy *Georgics*. It seems that Camelford, who knew what he wanted in terms of the general disposition of uses and planting, was expecting exotic and curious plants to be grown but left the detailed layout and horticultural details to his staff. The Grenvilles on the other hand busied themselves with setting the precise outlines of new plantations and specifying the horticultural practices to be followed.

To take the draft instructions first, whereas Camelford's list at f.168 is headed 'Works to be done at Boconnoc', Grenville's at f. 189 is entitled 'Works to be done by the Gardener this year' and shows his intimate knowledge of good horticultural practice. Of the 17 items in his list, 14 relate to proposals for planting, attention to fences protecting plantations, species to

be planted, preparations before planting and the management of plants. Only 3 relate to changes or repairs to what may be regarded as infrastructure. Camelford listed 17 items but only 4 of these can be said to relate to the landscape or to horticulture. An interesting facet of Grenville's list is that it was compiled within 6 months of taking possession of Boconnoc during which time they could have made only a short visit to the property. That suggests that he and Anne had already formed some idea of the landscape that they wished to see there during the years since 1793 when they kept an eye on the management of Boconnoc. Anne would also have had childhood memories of the estate, and Grenville of the time he spent with Camelford at Boconnoc when courting Anne.[67] It should also be noted that there is no reference to the Bath House as work in progress in 1804. The significance of this will be considered below.

As with the draft instructions, Grenville follows Camelford's notetaking practice. The entries by both men are intermittent, reflecting the periods when they were able to be there on the ground at Boconnoc. Camelford's entries cover parts of the period 1764 to 1778. Grenville's are headed 1805, 1807, 1807-8, 1808, Aug. 1817. The first Grenville entry reflects a period of relative calm in his political life which extended from his retirement as Foreign Secretary in 1801 to his taking possession of Boconnoc. The second three sections follow on from his resignation as Prime Minister in 1807 and the fifth follows his stepping back from the role of leader of the opposition in February 1817 after he, along with his brother, Buckingham, and two of his brothers in law, Carysfort and Fortescue were defeated in the vote to suspend Habeas Corpus which they thought necessary to deal with public unrest.[68]

The Camelford entries are significant for any study of Grenville's activities because they demonstrate how the broad landscape pattern of the then inclosed parts of Boconnoc Parish was settled before 1804. It is likely from the wording of Camelford's *Family Characters and Anecdotes* that a basic framework of walks was already in place before 1761, 'the woods had been cut down and the walks could be no longer traced'[69]. A feature in the Deer Park called variously 'The Bastion' or 'The Cockpit' also existed before his tenure. There is no satisfactory evidence of the origin of this feature which commands the valley at the junction between the Lerryn and a side stream in a position which offers no particular scenic interest. Given the history of warfare in the vicinity during the Civil War, the former Battery, on which he was to raise the Obelisk on an opposing hill, and the Redoubt on Beacon Hill, St Winnow, it is likely that it was a defensive position co-opted by Camelford for amenity use as he extended the walk to the former lead mine he created in 1764 'to Sowdens & up the hill to the Bastion' in 1765. Two other features likely to have been already in place are shown on the

1772 plan, a Dovecote and a Pheasantry up by Menawicket. There had been a gamekeeper on the Estate before Camelford's time, his father nominating one, John Roberts, at the Lostwithiel Quarter Session in 1751.[70] There had been a dovecot at Boconnoc since before 1420, though not necessarily in this location.[71]

The Camelford entries show how he would change his mind about improvements. In addition to the removal of a row of oaks planted round the paddock in 1764, he had difficulty in working out where to relocate the Kitchen Garden. He first wrote 'to a piece of ground in the Dawnas on the left hand' [to the north of the House up the Lerryn Valley] then crossed that out and replaces it with 'Prowda Park on the left hand as you enter the gate to the Avenue', where it was made.

The first 20 of his 29 entries, shows him, apart from making and measuring walks, to measure the fall of water in the Lerryn Valley, destroy the Mill below the House and move it to Couch's Mill, make the stew pond below the house 'staunch for fish', remove the house orchard to 'Many-wicket', move the fruit garden away from the House, remove the 'offices' of Brewhouse and Dairy from the courtyard behind the house to [what is now] the stable yard, build the bridge over the Lerryn to a new access from the West, extended the Park by moving the pale to where the leat for the former Mill ran [where, in the form of metal railings, it remains], propose major alterations to the house, move the Kitchen Garden, and build a riding house all before his marriage in 1771. None of them refer to trees or planting save for that reference to oaks round the Paddock and the removal of the Orchard.The December following his marriage in 1771 saw a new note of domesticity at Boconnoc. In the first reference by Camelford to ornamental gardening he writes 'The shrubbery, now the Dorothy Garden, opposite the Chuchyard alter'd and planted in serpentine walks with evergreens and sweets.'[72] In November that year fruit trees were brought from a London nursery and planted against the recently built walls of the new Kitchen Garden. It was also time for the building of the Obelisk.

There are only four Camelford references after the 1774 entry relating to the substantial alterations to the House, including the Gallery (now partly demolished), at a cost estimated at above £5000. The first relates to new plantations at West Park Gate to Buck's Head in 1770. The second, the turning of the road from Brookes's to Trevego Cross in 1785. The third, an extension of the Lawn from the House right up to the Penvose plantation made in 1778. Lastly a massive extension of the Deer Park by throwing in Helstone, Talleigh [sic] Penvose Wood, Millcombe Wood, Hernes [sic] Wood etc., to give a total area which he did not complete (in all…….). In those last four references Camelford was turning his attention away from the

infrastructure on the estate and toward the plantations which the Grenvilles would later enlarge and refine.

The absence of references after 1778 is explained by Camelford's purchase of Petersham Lodge in 1780 and his decision to spend less time in Cornwall. In the event he did not often get down to Boconnoc after that, not least because of travel in Europe to relieve his ill health, until that long stay in 1790 during which he amused himself with work at Millcombe as Grenville was courting Anne. However, large estates in distant parts of the country continued to function in the absence of their owners. As with the Grenvilles the effectiveness of their arrangements depended on regular correspondence with staff and local contacts such as Forster and the Gilberts. To Forster he includes references on the state of the beer in the cellars, sticks for thatching, alterations to the wood near the Parsonage, instructions to mirror the shutters in the drawing room, plans for cutting in Drae Wood and Hollowmap Wood, and the behaviour of tenants.[73]

Information would regularly flow the other way. Thomas Rhind, the gardener/forester in one of his regular reports, and in his own inimitable style, told Camelford in 1786;

> Since my last I have planted 5000 beech in the Nursery in All 10,000 Planted in ---- Park 1400 Beech and Oaks, in the little places at Helston 250 now thy men is finishin thy levelling of the old road, which will take them three weeks, as that wants to be got into grass as soon as possible. Thy stone that was in the church [yard] piled behind the Brew House, We have not been able to do anything to thy Park Walls ---- ----- ----- as Mr Hook has bin busy in putting in his corn, but has now don and Pin gos on with the ---- and walls tomorrow, thy Park Gate at Trevego is put up & I think will answer all thy ----- roads? We had a very hard frost tonight which hurst everything much, poor mr Knight is very ---- and in a great deal of pin. He as got a bad flux , that makes him very low, I have cut the orange trees. (---- illegible).[74] [There is sketch of the gate and pillars at f. 108]

Camelford, either personally or through his Agent, Bennett, must have given instructions for such work to be done, perhaps in the Autumn of 1785, and shows his continuing interest in extending planting on the estate, even during his absences. The schedule prepared by John Bowen in 1811 (fig. 65), based on rough estimate, shows that some 122 acres were planted from 1791 to 1794, a legacy, perhaps, of that last long visit in 1790/1791.

The references in the Minute Book, by both owners, are only occasional snapshots and do not represent a comprehensive account. For example, the Bridge discussed in correspondence with Forster would appear to be the one referred to by Camelford in the Minute Book as a boarden-bridge at f. 173 and by Grenville in his *Instructions* at f. 189 as a wooden bridge. There is however no reference to the date when it was constructed or its

design, although if Camelford took the design from Palladio, as he had for the more sophisticated bridge at Hagley, he must have given it careful thought.

In these materials Camelford's priorities are shown to have changed over time in the following order. Recovery and repair, infrastructure improvement, repaying the debt to Sir Richard, making a family home by alterations to the house and garden, and then, distancing himself somewhat from the estate, concentrating on the establishment of plantations and extending the Lawns and the deer park.

Thomas Pitt, 2nd Lord Camelford made no entries in the Minute book and left no surviving note about the instructions he had given about the management of the estate. The fact that he appears to have played little part in the management of Boconnoc during his lifetime does not mean that all activity on the estate came to a grinding halt[75] Evidence suggests that planting did continue between 1793 and 1804. In his entries for 1808 at f. 183 Grenville refers to the thinning of a small triangular plantation 'at the South East angle of the Paddock'. A ring count showed these trees to have been planted in 1800. Bowen's Schedule estimates that up to 66 acres may have been planted in the period 1795 to 1806,[76] with 47 acres in the period 1801-1806, the majority (45 acres) being in the Obelisk Plantation. (fig. 65)

BL Add MS 71549

f 104 prepared in 1811 by J Bowen agreeably to the method which is thought to be best to be pursued by both Mr Sharman and Mr Pond

	Boconnoc Acres	St Winnow Acres	Age Years	Assumed Planting date
Rough Parks		58	17 - 20	1791 - 1794
West Park	12	20	17 - 20	1791 - 1794
New planting in West Park	15		2	1809
Herns Hill	17		3	1808
In the Lawn	3		5	1806
In the New Shrubbery	1		3	1808
Poulpice	6		4	1807
Brimble Coom	3		16	1795
Penvose	12		20+	pre 1791
Chestnut Plantation	2		5 to 10	1801 - 1806
Obelisk Plantation [original form]	45		c10	18 01
	116	78		

The Plan June to June

1811 - 12	The Obelisk Plantation	Thinning	Pruning	Firs	
	The Lawn		Pruning	Firs	
	West Park Plantation	Thinning		Firs	Oak
	Brimble Coom	Thinng			Beech
	Penvose Plantation	Thinning			Oak, Beech
1812 - 1813	Rough Ground Plantation		Clearing		
1813 - 1814	Rough Ground Plantation		Clearing		
1814 - 15	West Park	Thinning		Firs	Oak
	Obelisk		Pruning		
	Lawn	Thinning	Pruning		
	Chestnut Plantation by Penvose	Thinning			Oak, Chestnut
1815 - 16	Hern's Hill Poulpice		Pruning		
1816 -1817	New Planting in the Park		Pruning		
1817 - 1818	Obelisk		Pruning		
	Lawn	Thinning	Pruning		
	West Park	Thinning			
1818 - 1819	Hern's Hill		Pruning		
	Poulpice		Pruning		
1819 - 1820	New Plantations in the Park		Pruning		
1820 - 1820	Obelisk	Thinning	Pruning		
	Lawn	Thinning	Pruning		
	Chestnut Plantation	Thinning			
1821 - 1822	Hern's Hill		Pruning		
	Poulpice		Pruning		

AND
Langunnet Plantation to be gone over as time can be spared from the foregoing.

Figure 65; Bowen's Schedule of Planting and Future Forestry Work. 1811

Thomas was at Boconnoc in May 1779 and January 1801,[77] at quiet moments in his tumultuous life, and Mrs Gilbert wrote to Anne;

> Tis not in words to express the satisfaction he [Thomas] gave me, nothing less than his being my son could exceed it. He was so easy, so cheerful, so sensible, & so kind to me. He talked in the most rational way about <u>business</u>, & the most affectionate *** of your Ladyship during the <u>few</u> moments I could have the happiness of talking to him alone.[78]

In their letters to Anne, Lady Camelford, Bennett, and his successor as Steward, William Beard, recorded visits in 1797 and 1799, and reported that they had made unspecified suggestions about improvements to the estate.[79] The decision to plant most of the trees then available in one large block of 45 acres on the southern side of the Obelisk may well have been a hasty gesture by the 2nd Lord Camelford to look as if he was improving the estate, without having any great interest in the landscape. The exact area planted at that time is not known but an illustration of 45 acres in that general location can be given. (fig. 66)

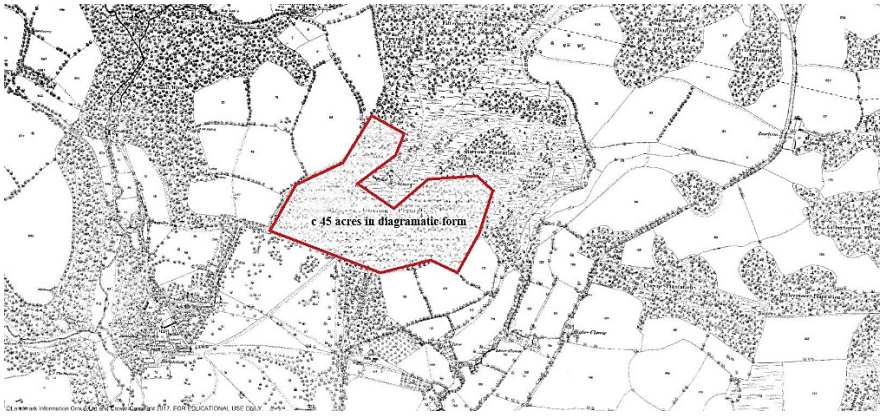

Figure 66; A schematic representation of 45 acres in relation to the Obelisk Hill, Boconnoc. © Author.

It appears this, seemingly careless, early planting on the Obelisk ground was not a success. It is unlikely that Grenville or Anne took any part in directing it. In the event the final layout of planting on the Obelisk Hill was later settled by the couple. In his entry for 1805 Grenville wrote 'part of the Obelisk Hill planted' something which would not have been necessary if that first planting had been done well. In correspondence with Anne in 1813 [Appendix 2] on the subject of how to use the land to be inclosed on Braddock Down, the poor establishment of those trees and the need for a substantial degree of replanting is mentioned as one of the difficulties to be considered. Grenville wrote;

> altho' one might derive some confidence from the experience of the obelisk ground, it must be said that the expense of replacing dead plants there for so many successive years, (and expense not yet finished as there is more of that work to be done this year) has been so great as to swallow up all possibility that the plantation there can ever repay its cost.[80]

Anne replied;

> I have no idea that if the ground was once well fenced & properly planted that we should find any necessity for the repeated filling up we have had in the obelisk ground unless it is from mischief done by rabbits. You know at the time the bad part of the obelisk Plantation was planted Rhind had no plants of a proper size & great part that was filled up with old rubbish. I should think the best way by far would be in those exposed grounds to plant the Pinasters & Scotch firs one spring & and the other trees the following autumn or the autumn twelve-month scattering seeds.[81]

It is highly unlikely that either Grenville or Anne would have tolerated the planting of 'old rubbish'. When Fortescue arrived to take on management of the estate in 1833 he wrote to Anne;

> We have just got to Boconnoc and have been looking about the dear old place. My first ride was to the Obelisk which was on a bare bleak down and now is a flourishing wood.[82]

Lorigan dates Fortescue's previous visit to 1808, so whatever planting had been done in the Obelisk Ground before the Grenvilles inherited in 1804 made very little alteration to its appearance as 'bare down'.[83]

There are 28 entries by Grenville. Of these, half relate to the plantations or the planting of single trees. The remaining 14 cover the removal of the dam below the house, the completion of the Bath, the agreement for the exchange of Boconnoc Glebe and Parsonage for a new site at Braddock, the 'turning' of the road between the Rookery and Boconnoc Parsonage, the conversion of the Parsonage to a Steward's house, the removal of some fences from the old Glebe, building a stone bridge at the end of the Alder Walk, building a new lodge at Couch's Mill, marking out and beginning the new road from the Obelisk through the paddock to the house, the making of a seaside room at Lantrick Bay, the inclosures, a new road in Helstone Bottom and the completion of the new farm buildings at Dawna. Apart from the exchange of the Parsonage and Glebe, the plans for inclosure and the farm buildings at Dawna, the entries amount to no more than refining the structure of the estate as found.

The farm buildings at Dawna, now in disrepair, give an indication of the attention played by Grenville to the appearance of objects seen at a distance from the grounds. (fig. 67) Built in what might be called a 'rustic classical' style they were in plain view from the new Shrubbery created on the former Glebe and would have given the impression of being some sort of pavilion or temple rather than a farmhouse as such.

Figure 67; Above, the Farmhouse at Dawna, now in disrepair, with, below, a detail of the decorated pediment. 2016 ©Author.

Grenville paid close attention to the maintenance of the property. The dam head still in place in the valley below the house was to be removed. The stew pond which it contained, repaired by Camelford in 1765, had evidently ceased to function. There was to be a consequential restoration of the valley floor. The planting of the Obelisk ground was proposed, thus reducing the impact of the Obelisk on the wider landscape. Camelford's wooden Palladian bridge was to be replaced by a plain arched bridge without a parapet. That this was to be wide enough to accommodate the 'little chaise' indicated that the paths and rides through the landscape would be explored, as before, by carriage as well as on horseback and on foot. New areas for planting had been marked out. As well as these, 'scattered' trees would be planted in some locations.

What is remarkable, but not surprising bearing in mind the Grenville's achievements in the early years at Dropmore, is the close attention given to the growing of plants, even during the busy and tense times when Grenville was politically active in opposition. Apart from the expansion of the nursery (in the location of the present Pinetum), there is the very precise identification of the species to be planted, instructions about the preparation of ground before planting trees, the use of cradle fences to protect young trees, the mulching of mulberry trees, the training of a fig, and the layering of evergreens.

The reference to the room at Lantic Bay, a seaside amenity, is the only reference in the Minute book which does not relate to land at the core of the estate. This emphasises how, during this period, aesthetic improvement to landscape would usually be confined to areas which could conveniently be enjoyed from the house by means of walks, ridings and carriage drives. That area would be determined not only by distance but also be confined to areas of interest. Beyond that, the appearance of large estates would be left to evolve as changing agricultural, forestry and sporting practices made their mark. Before the 1809 inclosure, the area at Boconnoc subject to aesthetic improvement was contained within the envelope of the previously inclosed land in the parish. It was only subsequently that attention was paid to how the landscape should be improved to the north of the Obelisk in the way explored below.

The Bath House

The origin of the Bath House,[84] the largest and most important piece of built fabric at Boconnoc made during Grenville's ownership in the grounds of the House, is obscure. It might be said to be in a Classic style with one notably incongruous element, the gothic, moulded doorway. (fig. 68) It may be presumed that this came from the earlier tower house which 'The Governor' remodelled into a 'Georgian' mansion after 1719.

Figure 68; The Bath House showing the recovered stone from the early house at Boconnoc. 2018. © Author.

There are other such fragments incorporated into the Stable Yard and one at the eastern entrance to the Shrubbery. Others are lying on the ground behind the estate yard. Some also were used to make watering places on the way down the valley north of the Stewardry (fig. 69) and south of Telay. These are the only remnants of the early houses at Boconnoc and the only clue to their architectural detailing.

Figure 69; An architectural feature from an earlier Boconnoc House, pressed into service as a watering-place for draught animals. 2015. © Author.

It has been suggested that instructions for the building of such a bath came from Thomas.[85] As has been noted previously, this 'young Cornish Hercules' was most definitely the out-door type,[86] and cold baths may well have appealed to him. (fig. 70)

Figure 70; The Rugged Thomas Pitt, 2nd Lord Camelford (Unknown provenance). Although he preferred a seaborne life of adventure, he followed his father in having a keen sense of architecture and was possibly better at drawing.[87] However, no evidence of instructions given by him for the making of a Bath has come to light and a drawing in the Cornwall Record Office is no more than a technical drawing of the pool itself, not a design

for the completed building as a whole. An estimate was given to Grenville in September 1804. It was not until July 1805 that the steward, Mulholland,[88] started active project management by writing to the gardener, Mr Rhind, to get the mason to start work.[89] The Minute Book records that the Bath was finished and used in August 1807, but this is likely to have referred to the actual pool itself. It appears that the pool house itself was not completed before the late summer of 1808. [90] It seems likely that if the Bath house project was already in train it would have been mentioned both in the 1804 instructions and in the 1805 minute. The delay before Mulholland's instruction to Rhind may be explained by Grenville digesting the estimate he had been given and not deciding to build the bath until that autumn's visit. The installation of the recovered gothic doorway may be explained by Grenville's interest in the associative qualities of garden structures. No direct link to cold baths elsewhere has emerged, although they were common in late eighteenth-century gardens.[91] They were, however, a feature of several of the gardens with which Grenville's family became involved. For George at Stowe, the Cold Bath by Vanbrugh, built in 1723 and fed from the Octagon Lake, had been demolished by 1761.[92] His sister Charlotte had the Cold Bath at Wynnstay, and another sister Hester would have enjoyed the Spa House at Castle Hill fed by a chalybeate spring. His other sister Catherine may well have known of the Cold Bath, made to design by Richard Woods before 1781 for the Elysium Garden at Audley End, before her death in 1796, although her husband did not inherit the property until 1802.[93] That by 1804, two of Grenville's siblings, including his favourite Hester, were living at properties with Cold Baths in their grounds points strongly to the Grenvilles having ordered one themselves. As with other such Cold Baths it was located away from the house where it could be supplied by spring water, in this case, the Leat down from the Tar Rock. [The cottages to the south of Tar Rock have been called Tarr and Torr]

The Room at Lantic Bay

Under the notes for 1808, Grenville records 'The boarded room was put up this autumn at Lantick [sic], and a cottage room built behind it for the residence of a labourer'. (figs. 71 & 72). In Bowens accounts for 1808 there is an entry for Lantic Pleasure House - £274.[94] There is also a plan of the building.[95] This little wooden structure, with double doors opening to the sea view stood on a promontory between Great and Little Lantic Beaches is clearly shown on the 1st Edn Ordnance Survey in the 1880s and remained there right through to the 1970 Edition, although it has now been demolished. That the Grenvilles were keen on sea views is evident from their 1801 Journal entry when they were at Swansea. 'The mere prospect of open sea is always delightful to those who have few opportunities to enjoy it, etc.[96]

At that time Lantic Bay, due south of Boconnoc House and east of Polruan, was on the seaward edge of the Boconnoc estate. The choice of the site must have been, in part, because of the sea view it offered, but its location between the two excellent bathing beaches suggests that sea bathing was also in mind. The best sea view, of the kind described in the Journal, would have been on Pencarrow Head, away from those beaches. This tends to confirm that at the time the Bath was finished the Grenvilles also enjoyed being in the sea and the Bath was their idea rather than that of Thomas Pitt.

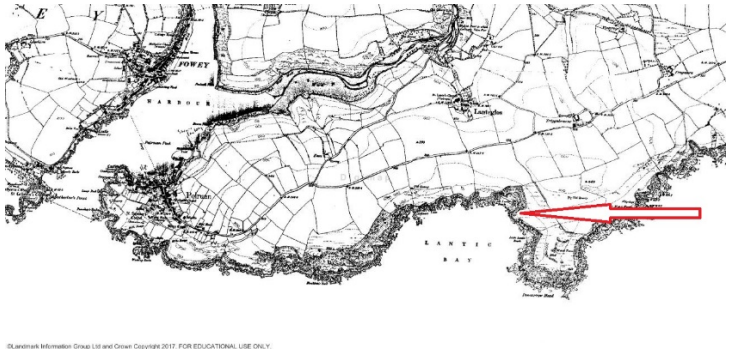

Figure 71; Ist Edn Ordnance Survey 1880. Lantic Bay.
Position of the Room arrowed.

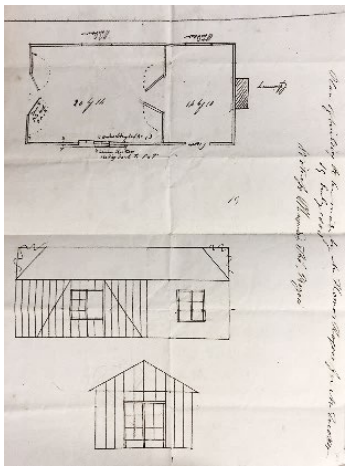

Figure 72; The Boarded Room. Lantic Bay. Add MS 69176 f. 141. © British Library.

As at Dropmore Private Bills, would be used to achieve his aims at Boconnoc gathering the Parsonage and its Glebe into the estate by an Act of 1808, and inclosing some 2000 acres of Braddock and St Winnow Downs by an Act of 1809. The Parsonage was to become the Stewardry and a new Parsonage built for the combined parishes at Braddock. Braddock Downs became the canvas for a major exercise in landscape improvement initiated

by Grenville and completed by Anne with Fortescue. However, as the cost of improvements mounted, Grenville took steps to limit expenditure and improve the cash flow from Boconnoc. As Sharman pointed out to Anne in February 1811, 'Large expenses has certainly gone on, some arising from his Lordship's and your Ladyship's ideas'.[97] Their love for the beauties of Boconnoc was tempered by the need for some practical, and decidedly unsentimental, projects in The Deer Park and Sowdens Valley.

The Deer Park

One of the present glories of Boconnoc is the Deer Park, with its long established herd of fallow deer and its important assemblage of lichens, now, with Colliers Hill Wood, a Site of Special Scientific Interest.[98] Whilst the boundaries of the Park have changed over the years, the fact that a Deer Park existed at Boconnoc was illustrated in the Coastal Defences Map made at the time of Henry VIII. (fig. 73)

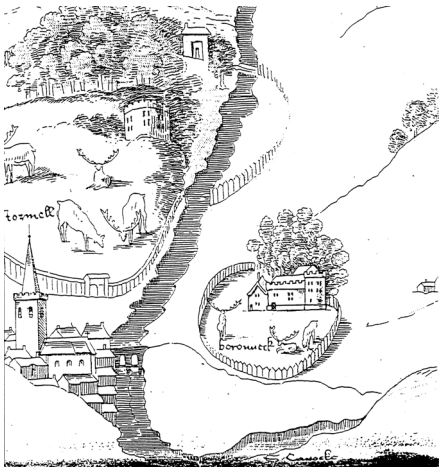

Figure 73; Boconnoc House, Restormel Castle and Lostwithiel taken from Henry VIII's Coastal Defence Maps c 1539 – 1550 Cotton MS, Augustus II 35-38. © British Library

The deer parks at Boconnoc and Restormel are shown together with an impression of Boconnoc House at that date. The plan suggests that Boconnoc could be a 'strong point' in the event of an invasion.

This history was not enough to prevent Grenville trying hard to get rid of them and turn the Deer Park into lettable grazing. The deer were costing a good deal in fencing and keep, so Bowen drafted an advertisement 'Deer situated in the West of England to be disposed of, a park of deer containing about 204 head……Other particulars may be had of Mr White Veterinary Surgeon, Exeter'. Only one half-hearted enquiry followed and so Grenville tried hawking fattened carcases around his friends in London to add value. 'I find that the deer will not fetch any price in London. I suppose this season will have drawn off nearly all the bucks.

The does and prickets may be disposed of as presents to anyone who will take them'.[99] No-one would take them.

Two years later all attempts to sell the deer had failed and it appears that Anne had come round to the idea of keeping them, for she wrote;

> I had always forgot to remind you of the notion (which your letter of today mentions) of letting the deer into the Rough Parks. I am very fond of that project. I am sure the ground will look much better in that way than by attempting to continue the Plantation where it does so ill.[100]

Grenville was not convinced, but stayed his hand;

> The expence of the Deer is very great from which we derive nothing but a haunch of venison now & then when we are here – & how little this is you see. This however I do not like touching because I know you are averse to it.[101]

Figure 74; Bucks in the long-established herd of fallow deer at Boconnoc. 2003 © Author.

Today the Deer Park provides an important ecological and landscape resource for the Estate, as well as a feature of great interest to visitors.[102] (fig. 74) It makes a significant contribution to an understanding of the history and cultural importance of Boconnoc, and its presence demonstrates the importance, when improving landscape, of not throwing away well-established features which may be of use or interest to future generations unless absolutely necessary. Unfortunately, in the twentieth century buildings to serve the Home Farm were erected in Camelford's walled garden when they might have been sited elsewhere.

The Mine in Sowdens Valley.

While getting rid of the deer and their Park would have reduced the diversity in the Boconnoc landscape, there was one other proposal which brought industrial activity to the very heart of the estate. Cornwall had been important for the mining of hard rock since before 2000 BC.[103] At some time well before Camelford's occupation of Boconnoc at least two mines had been sunk in Sowdens Valley in the search for lead. They had been back-filled and had only

been the subject of desultory interest by The Governor and Camelford.[104] During Camelford's time William Cookworthy (1705-1780), who established the first English porcelain manufactory in Plymouth, established a trade in Cornish China Clay based in part on Pitt land at St Stephens-in-Brannel where he was granted a lease. Catherine Lorigan has traced the history of Cookworthy's involvement between 1745 and 1770, when he transferred his interest to Richard Champion (1743-1791). She notes that neither Pitt, Cookworthy nor Champion would draw any great financial benefit from this pioneering work.[105] The china clay mine on the wider Boconnoc Estate did, at least, produce some income for the Grenvilles,[106] but not enough to dent the outgoings, as Grenville explained to Anne;

> The whole rent that Bowen receives falls short of £4000 & we have this year spent more than that sum at this place – so that in fact we stand not quite so well as if you had no other property in Cornwall but the clay mine.[107]

For all his cool headedness, Grenville became excited about the prospect of reopening the mines in Sowden's valley even though he realised that 'No sett could be granted I fear without giving a degree of power over the park & place, which just now I am less than ever disposed to give.'[108] (fig. 75)

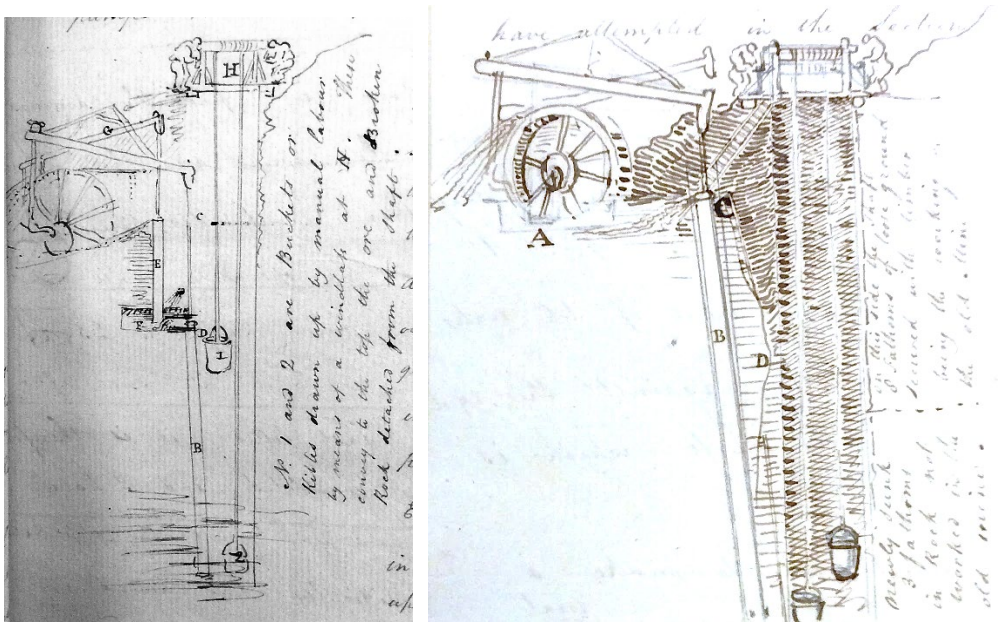

Figure 75; Two alternative schemes for working the mines in Sowdens Valley illustrated by John Bowen in his correspondence with Grenville. Add MS 59440 ff. 46 and 47. © British Library.

His experiences of mining operations at Boconnoc are interwoven with the landscape references in the 1813 correspondence [*see* Appendix 2] and are also described in his correspondence with Bowen.[109] It can be seen that they encountered many of the trials and

tribulations of speculative mining explored by Winston Graham in his series of *Poldark* novels, except for, fortunately, a death and, unfortunately, a successful find of valuable minerals.[110] The old shafts had been effectively worked out. Within a few months Grenville experienced the unreliability of assays, buoyant hours of hope, days of despair, and even a strike. Eventually, on 20 November 1813, Grenville gave instructions that the mess left by the miners should be cleared up and the landscape of the valley restored;

> You will have the mine filled in again all the way up the hill, & dispose of the wheel to the best advantage, the shaft, rubbish, & house at the bottom of the hill to be left as they are until we see them. You must consider & send me up a plan & estimate of draining that ground, using for that purpose, as far as may be, the cuts made for the mining, but turning the main stream back into its old course as nearly as you can. The banks across the valley must be levelled, but I should not wish too much smoothing of the sides.[111]

Bowen duly produced a sketch to record the end of the saga. (fig. 76)

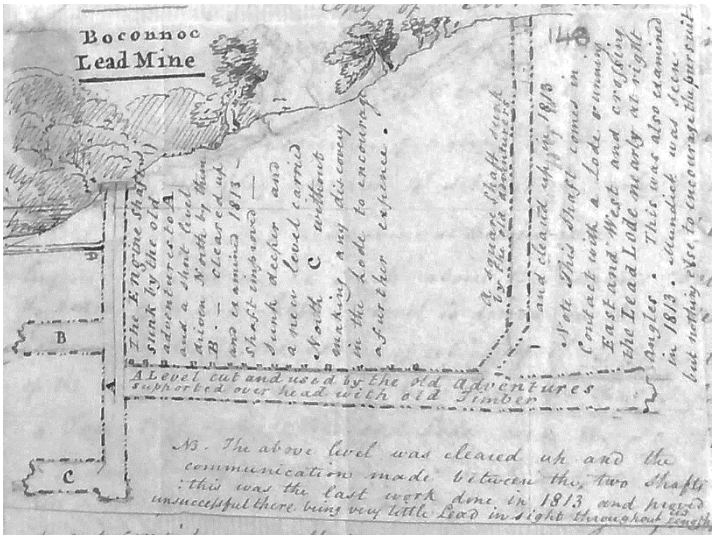

Figure 76; Bowen's final sketch of the Lead Mine after its closure. Add MS 59440 f. 164 [possibly February 1814]. © British Library.

Grenville's was to be the last to attempt to recover minerals from Sowdens Valley, and on the spoil mound outside the adit of one shaft Fortescue erected his memorial cross to Grenville in 1834. Sketches by Bowen (fig. 83) give an indication of the kind of operations being carried out in that otherwise intimate landscape, from which the intrusiveness of them is self-evident. Elsewhere on the Estate and other land controlled by Fortescue mining was to become a major source of income for the family and a major contributor to the economy of the County. But, all of that came too late for Grenville to enjoy.

The clearing up operations needed to take account of Grenville's aspirations for the look of Sowdens Valley as seen from the immediate grounds of the house. In addition to the

problems of getting rid of mining waste there was a conflict between the need properly to contain the deer on the Park being extended as far as Collier's Hill. Bowens first stab at this, making a close-boarded timber 'wall' across the mouth of the valley brought down Grenville's wrath on his head;

> There are other enormities, arising from the same unfortunate love of doing, but as they may be undone again the evil does not extend beyond a little money very foolishly thrown away in doing what a little more must now be spent in undoing. Among these is a wall fence, instead of a rail or hurdle fence as we had ordered, across the very entrance into Sowden's. But this you will never see, as its demolition is to be begun upon tomorrow. I rather hope that what has passed this morning will be a lesson to him to abstain from such folly hereafter, & to content himself with the more humbler merit of doing what he is desired, instead of improving for us. If it does not he and I must part. [Appendix 2]

Bowen produced some suggested solutions which would avoid the appearance of a barrier across the valley. (fig. 77)

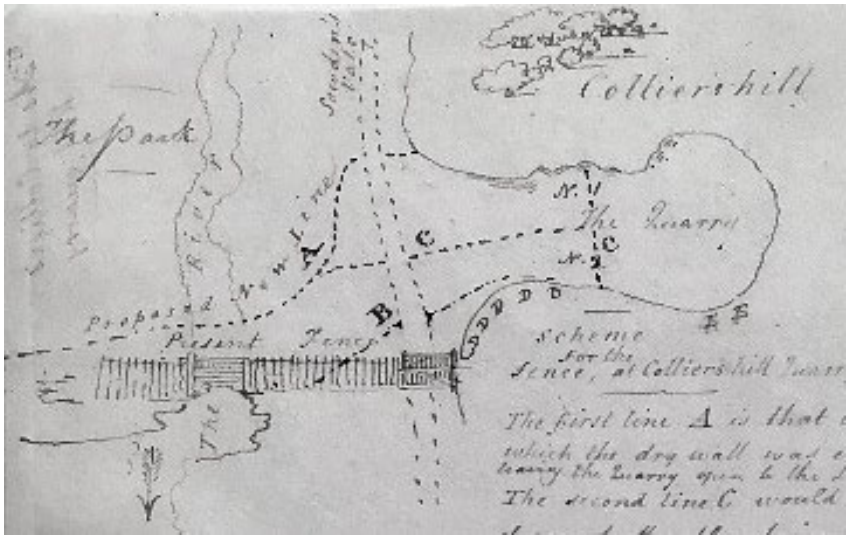

Figure 77; Detail from a scheme for a fence at the entrance to Sowden's Valley prepared by Bowen. Add MD 58440 f. 150 [Possibly February 1814]. © British Library.

On 16th February 1814 Grenville responded from Dropmore;

> I approve of what you propose in your letter respecting the mine. As to the fence I would have nothing done but to have the old fence & gate where they now are till I can see them, & to place hurdles for a temporary fence wherever it is necessary to inclose the deer. I cannot, nor can any body, form any judgment where the fence ought to run, till the rubbish which you have heaped up there is removed, & the ground restored to its natural shape as nearly as can be done without destroying the road into the valley in that direction. I do not see what is to prevent carrying the rubbish where it was proposed when I was last there – under the name of filling up hollows you may for ought I know spoil the whole beauty of the ground.[112]

In the event, the conundrum was never resolved and some years later a straight metal ‘estate railing’ high enough to contain the deer was erected straight across the entrance to the valley. It seems that Bowens efforts at clearing up were never fully completed. There is beside the entrance to the valley a mound of spoil which it has been suggested had some significance as a piece of landscape design.[113] It is more likely to have been one of those rubbish heaps. (figs. 78 & 79)

Figure 78; An otherwise unexplained mound by the entrance to Sowdens may have been one of the spoil heaps from the mine. 2018. © Author.

Figure 79; The view up Sowdens Valley looking up toward the Grenville Monument, showing the deer fence installed later. 2018. © Author.

The Quarry on the side of Colliershill Wood, shown on Bowen’s plan, (to the right of fig. 77) also saw the attentions of the Grenvilles as Fortescue, writing to Anne, recalled;

> We passed the best of another day, just opposite to the quarry at the entrance of the Sowden valley where my Uncle was at some trouble in building a wall, now well

> [covered] over with ferns and moss, to support a couple of beech trees. & where you made a flight of steps that lead to a path thro' the wood. These are a little the worse for 17 years of disuse.[114] [Bowen reports the building of that wall to Grenville in January 1814][115] (fig. 80)

These works illustrated the priorities of Grenville and Anne side by side. Grenville, the tree lover, trying to protect two beech trees, Anne making an ornamental feature of steps to lead up into the wood above.

Figure 80; A contrast in character seen on either side of the Sowdens Quarry. Left, Grenville's wall to protect the roots of the beech trees. Right, Anne's whimsical steps up into Colliershill Wood. 2018 © Author.

Managing the Garden and Nursery

A recurring challenge to landowners is what to do with stoves and glass houses when they fall into disrepair. By 1811 Camelford's glass houses were up to 40 years old. Bowen reported that Mr Rhind had retired. A Mr Hicks had given an estimate of £21.18. 1/2d for repairing broken glass in the shrubbery and garden, which included: Green House, Myrtle House, Great Hot House, Little Hot House, Hot Bed and Melon Frame.[116] Grenville replied 'The greenhouse must be painted & the glass repaired, that the Orange trees may be kept alive..... As to the other houses it is not worth our while to keep them in repair. But if they will be of advantage to Pond, I should not object to put them once into repair as far as glazing and painting, provided he will then undertake to keep them so.'[117] The exchange shows that Grenville was tailoring expenditure to what was necessary for the occasional enjoyment of it and allowing flexibility in the use of resources on the Estate. As with the nursery and the woodlands, Grenville was prepared for Pond to use the greenhouses Grenville did not need for his own purposes, if he wished, on a full-repairing basis. So far as the woods were concerned, Bowen told Grenville 'Mr Pond informs me that it will cost £250 to do the work laid out for the three years 1811, 1812 and 1813 to be done to the plantations; and that afterwards he would be willing to take the entire care of them, including thinning and pruning, at £60 per annum'.[118]

Lines of Beauty and Grace

As described in Chapter 2 there were an abundance of contemporary publications on the subject of the making of landscapes in general and on the Picturesque in particular. The work of three authors have a particular relevance to the way Grenville and Anne set out their plantations at Boconnoc and at Dropmore. Gilpin on his *Tour to the Western Parts of England*, at some time before 1798, travelled over Braddock Down on his way from Bodmin to Liskeard. He was not impressed by what he saw;

> In returning from Bodmin, we passed over that part of Bradoc-downs, where Lord Hopton's prowess was again shewn in giving a considerable check to the parliament's forces in those parts. This wild heath, and much of the neighbouring country, is in the same style of dreary landscape, which we have found between Launceston and Bodmin. So very undisciplined the country still is, that the wild stags of nature, in many parts, claim it as their own. We did not see any of them; but we were told, they sometimes shew themselves on the high moors about Bodmin and Lescard.[119]

In 1791 Gilpin finished his *Observations on Forest Scenery.*[120] By forest he did not mean the ancient Royal hunting forests subject to forest laws, such as the New Forest, in which he lived at Boldre, Hampshire, or the more recent meaning of an uninterrupted tract of woody country. He wrote;

> The forest under the division of *wood*, *pasturage* and *heath* presents itself to us, as a picturesque object in a double view – as the scenery of a *fore-ground* ; and as the scenery of a *distance*.[121]

And

> We skirt, and penetrate the recesses of the wood for the *closer view*; but frequent the forest-lawn and heath, for the *distant one*. The beauty of those scenes (especially of the heath, which is a large surface) depends it is true, in a great degree, on the play, and irregularities of the ground ; but chiefly it depends on the surrounding woods. The Forest-lawn *in itself* is a mere field. It is only when adorned with the furniture of surrounding woods, that it produces it's effects.
>
> The forest-heath also, when it is level, and bounded only by the horizon, has no charms for the eye. When it consists of well-mixed inequalities of ground, it gains somewhat more upon us. But when it is bounded by woods in various parts, and interspersed, here and there, with clumps, which gently unite it's woody boundaries with it's area, it becomes an interesting scene.[122]

Having laid out his stall in his overview of forests in Great Britain and Ireland, as he saw them, Gilpin then proceeded to dismiss Cornwall as offering any such delights in the succinct phrase 'In Cornwall, it does not appear that there has been anything like a forest.'[123] Whether this proposition was true of the whole of the county, as it may have been, at that date, Gilpin had

the advantage of his ride over Braddock Down and clearly thought that did not, then, meet his criteria for forest scenery.

The Grenvilles were well aware of William Gilpin's several '*Observations*' on different parts of Britain,[124] visiting sites recommended by him in their own tour of South Wales in 1801,[125] and also of the 'Picturesque Debate'. Repton was a strong defender of the Brownian style and whilst his own was somewhat softer and, in his own terms, more picturesque, as seen in Cornwall at Antony, Pentillie, Catchfrench, Port Eliot and in drawings for Tregothnan. It was nonetheless marked by studied design, previsioned in his *Red Books*, rather than process. In his red book for Shavington Park,[126] Repton told Robert Needham, 11th Viscount Kilmorey (1746-1818) that he would have to choose between having a park or a farm. For both Camelford and the Grenvilles a home farm centred on the Lawns was very much part of an integrated approach to landscape management.

However, there was one element of Repton's *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening,*[127] a compendium of his ideas drawn from various *Red Books*, about which there was general agreement in the late eighteenth-century, and that was an antipathy to planting in straight lines. This search for Naturalness was an attempt to imitate nature in planting and should be distinguished from the 'Naturesque' which involves working with natural forces of change and letting nature take the lead. Two writers in particular drew attention to the desirability of imitating nature in planting, C.C.L. Hirschfeld (1742-1792), writing between 1779 and 1785,[128] and Prince Hermann Pückler-Muskau (1785-1871) in 1834.[129] Whilst the first was writing before Grenville became actively engaged in landscape improvement, and the second in the year of his death, and whilst both remained unpublished in English until the twentieth century, they both reflected a drift in contemporary opinion within Europe with which the Grenvilles would have agreed.[130]

In 1804. John Claudius Loudon (1873-1843) published an important, but now largely forgotten, book *Observations on the Formation and Management of Useful and Ornamental Plantations* [131] He placed great emphasis on the need to achieve irregular outlines in every kind of plantation, identifying three different kinds of character beautiful, picturesque and grand which he illustrated in diagrammatic form. (fig. 81) This analysis has not been included in Chapter 2 because it offered practical advice and was not intended a contribution toward the 'Picturesque Debate'. It is dealt with in this chapter because the way the Grenvilles set out their plantations is best demonstrated at Boconnoc, although similar principles were applied at Dropmore. The most useful way of interpreting Loudon's three drawings is not to treat them as

defining the beautiful, the picturesque, and the grand, but as indications of the kinds of shapes which, in the right context, might give rise to those responses in an individual. 'Beautiful' in this context being that which appeals to Gilpin's 'general admirer of the beauties of nature'.[132]

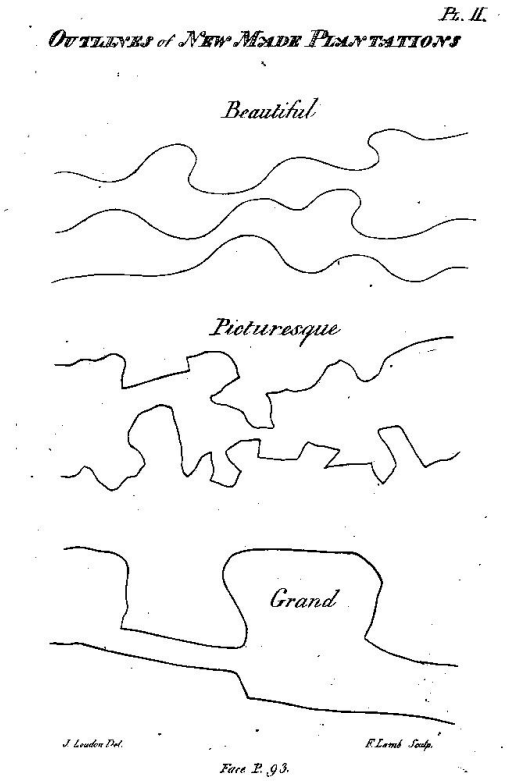

Figure 81; John Claudius Loudon. Observations on the Formation and Management of Useful and Ornamental Plantations. 1804 Plate II.

Loudon's lines for his ideas of what might be thought 'beautiful' can be usefully compared with Hogarth's explanation of his two, complementary, concepts of the line of beauty and the line of grace.[133] Despite the title of his book, Hogarth managed to avoid the trap of attempting to define beauty but rather provided an analysis of 'what the principles are in nature, by which we are directed to call the forms of some bodies beautiful, others ugly'. His search was for 'Pleasing Forms'. His line of beauty was the perfect serpentine line and his line of grace the perfect waving line. He demonstrated these in his plates 49 and 53 (fig. 82), and each case his idea of the perfect form is numbered 4. Quite why he should have chosen a corset to illustrate his point in relation to the waving line he did not explain, save to use it to show how women were generally thought more beautiful than men who would find it difficult to struggle into one shaped like number 4. He might have had in mind someone like the unknown lady in Chapter 3 fig. 45, when he drew it.

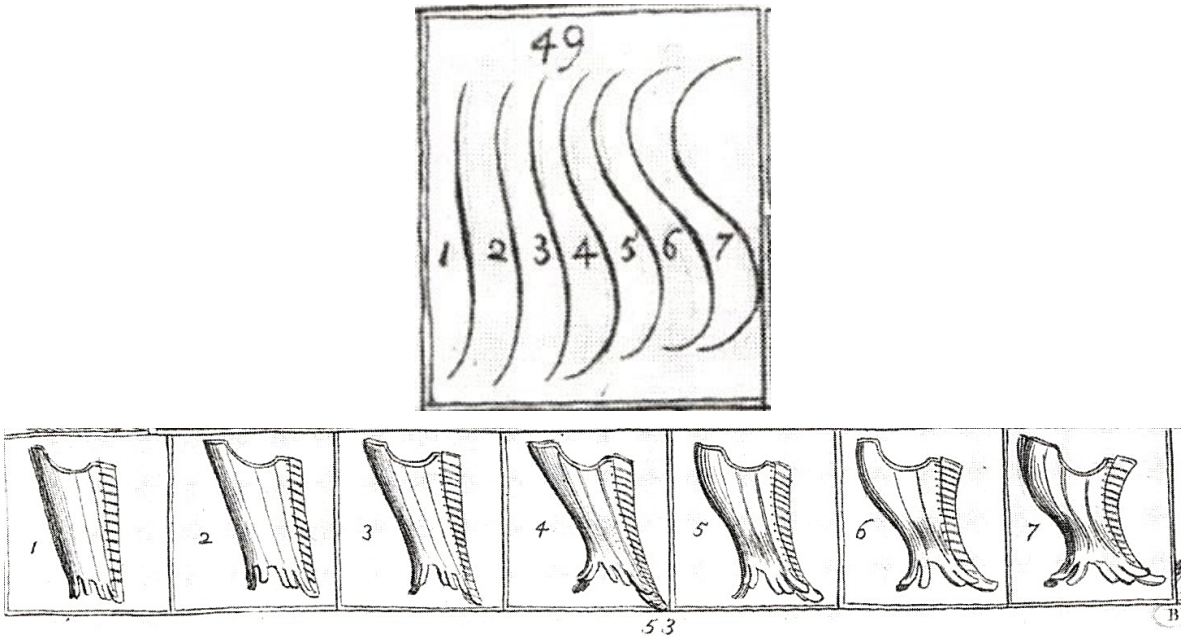

Figure 82; Plates 49 & 50 from Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. 1753. The Line of Beauty above, the Line of Grace below.

Hogarth conceived these lines not as alternatives but as shapes to be used in association with each other, concluding that 'the art of composing well is no more than the art of varying well'. The use of rounded shapes is commonplace in landscape improvement and garden design as is demonstrated by Brown's use of 'clumps' and by illustrations in Repton's 'Red Books'. What distinguishes these from the lines of beauty and grace described by Hogarth and Loudon is the way in which they are varied

The Grenvilles mixed serpentine and undulating, or waving, lines to achieve what was for them the most attractive result (figs. 83, 84 & 85). Those lines relate to planting actually planted, for which instructions were given that they should be planted, or were being contemplated. Not for them a punctuated landscape of the kind explained by Brown to Hannah More (1745-1833) in 1782;

> 'Now there' said he, pointing his finger, 'I make a comma, and there' pointing to another spot, 'where a more decided turn is proper, I make a colon; at another part, where an interruption is desirable to break the view, a parenthesis; now a full stop, and then I begin another subject'

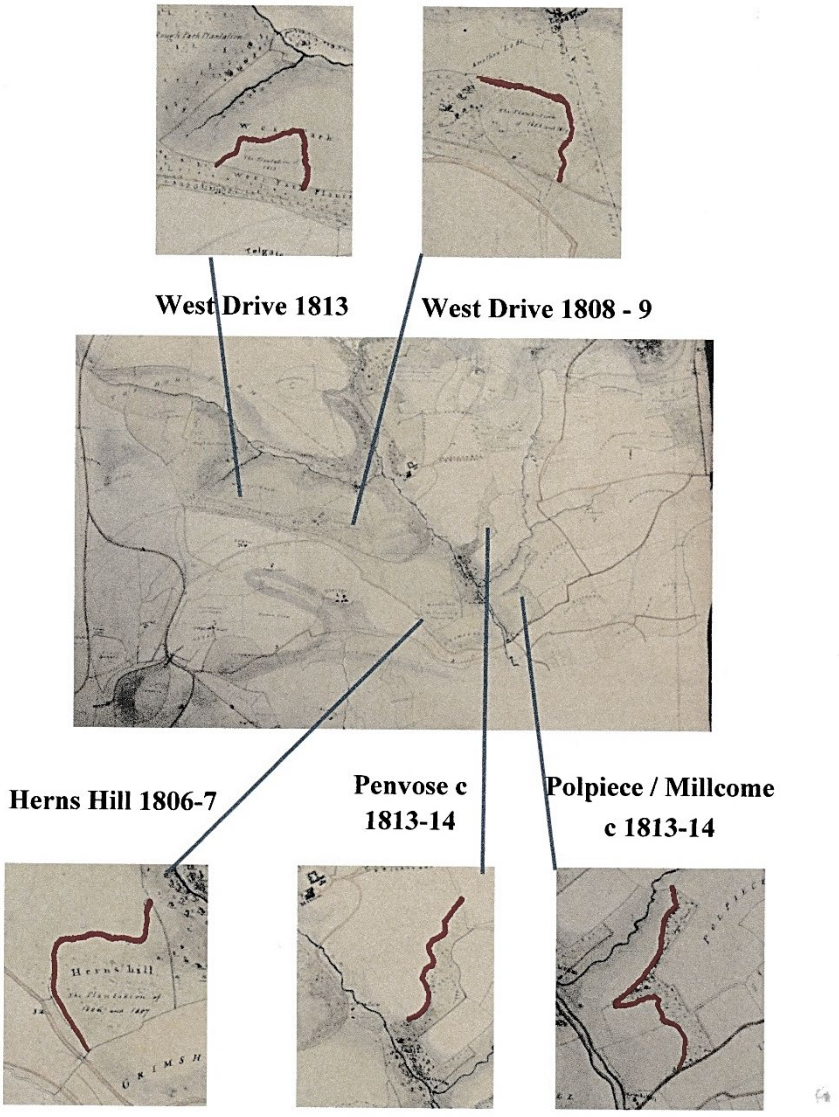

Figure 83; Planting by the Grenvilles to the South and West of Boconnoc House up to 1813 noted on Commissioner's Draft Inclosure Plan c 1820 prepared by John Bowen CRO F/1/326.

The Serpentine and Waving plantation edges, enhanced in red, on this and the following maps are all on the parts of the plantations which would face the House, its entrance or the wider pleasure grounds.

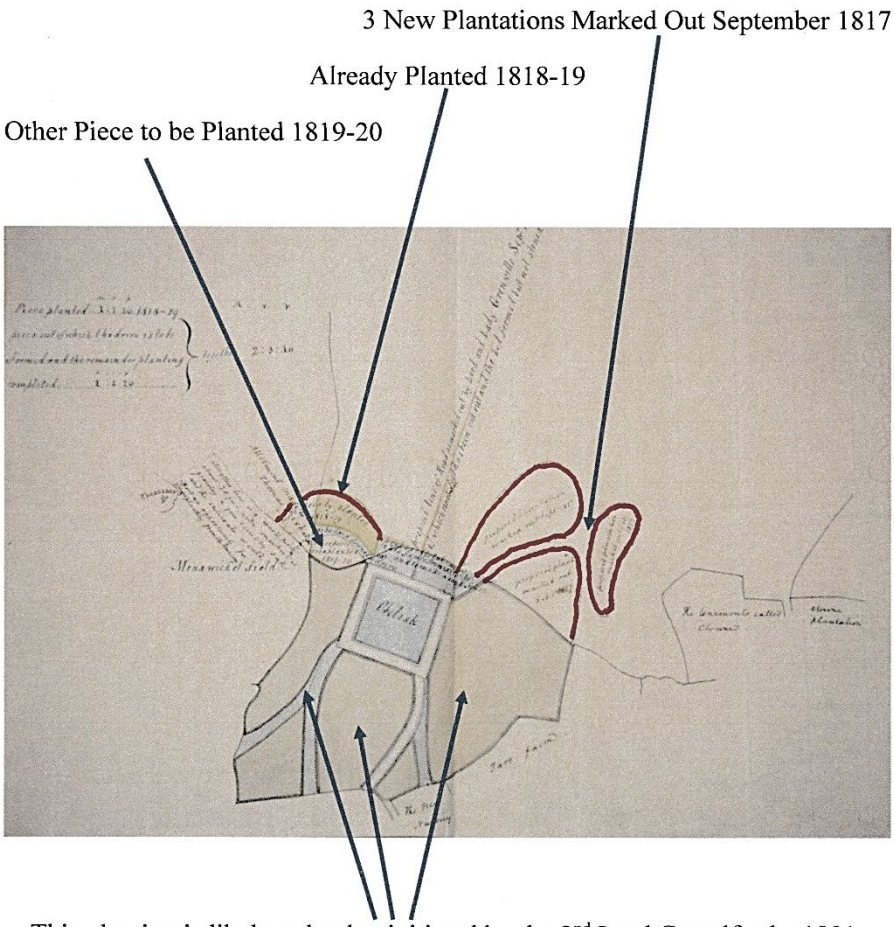

Figure 84; Planting by the Grenvilles North and West of Boconnoc House after 1818 as shown on a drawing by John Bowen at CRO F/1/327/4.

The Serpentine and Waving plantation edges, enhanced in red, here faced the approach to the House from the North.

There is further evidence of the pattern of planting preferred by the Grenvilles sketched lightly in pencil on other maps and plans, although these do not appear to have been implemented as sketched. In this example taken from the draft Inclosure Plan, one of a number of pencilled iterations has been enhanced in red. (fig. 85)

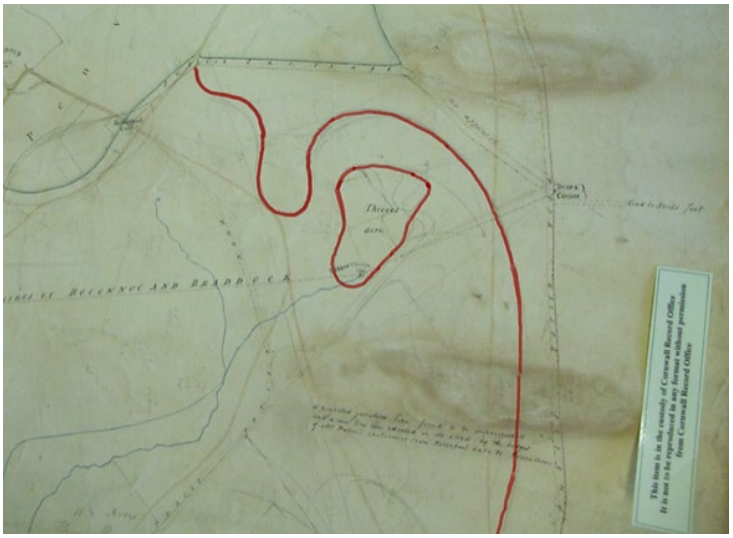

Figure 85; Faint pencilled lines, enhanced in red, on the draft Inclosure Plan prepared by John Bowen - showing proposed road alignments. May 1811 CRO F/1/ 325 (DDF 325)

Loudon also emphasised the importance, except where grandeur was the objective, of breaking the outline of ornamental planting 'with single trees and groups, so dispersed, as to increase its irregularity, and to take away from that formality and sameness which lines of every kind have when viewed alone'. He continued;

> How different from all this are the circular clumps, the serpentine belts, and the dotting of single trees by landscape gardeners! From their formal outlines and equidistant mode of planting, more than from any other error, arises that distinctness and monotony, which is so disgusting in made places, and which will ever distinguish a tree, or a collection of trees, planted by them, from the same tree or trees in natural scenery.[134]

The sketches by Loudon reflected well established opinion of the difference between what made for 'beautiful' and 'picturesque' effects and was, therefore, something more than his own invention. They provide a useful guide to the categorisation of the landscape of the Braddock Down Plantations in that their outlines cannot be said to be intended to produce picturesque effects. Whether they give an impression of beauty is a matter which has to be left to subjective perception. It may be suggested that as the recent clearance of the undergrowth has revealed a number of trees showing qualities of 'roughness, sudden variation and irregularity', these therefore present themselves as being suitable subjects to be painted. That is to confuse the question of whether a particular object is capable of being seen as being picturesque with whether a landscape as a whole can be described in that way. Before leaving the question of beauty it should be noted that according to the OED the concept includes 'That quality of a thing which is highly pleasing to the senses generally'.[135] Beauty is not to be

judged solely by the look of a landscape, but also for its sounds, scents, its feel and even its tastes. The concentration on visual effect in the passages above is because it is this, and the process by which it was achieved, which makes Grenvilles' planting distinctive.

The Braddock Down Inclosure

Their biggest challenge was how to arrange land uses and planting on land they inclosed under the 1809 Act, something Grenville himself never managed to carry through. Their objective here was different to that which they adopted at Dropmore. While both involved the conversion of moorland and heath, at Dropmore the emphasis was on melding new planting into the generally well wooded landscapes of Cliveden, Hedsor and Burnham Beeches, but in Cornwall they were seeking to establish quite different patterns of planting to that on adjacent land to give it a distinctive feel. The Register entry for Boconnoc contains the following reference to what will be described, for the sake of convenience, as 'the Braddock Down Plantations';

> To the north-east of the park is an extensive area of mixed ornamental plantations, through which the north-east drive passes; this area was developed in the late C18 as a setting for the drive and the first Lord Camelford's obelisk (1771). To the east of this woodland, and to the east of the minor road which passes through the site south-east of Braddock, agricultural enclosures are interspersed by five mixed, irregularly shaped plantations. This area is enclosed to the east and south by a continuous belt of mixed plantations comprising Braddockround Plantation, Withy Piece Plantation, and Clowne Plantation. The woodland planting to the east of Obelisk Plantation forms part of the early and mid C19 picturesque landscape developed by the second Lord Camelford and continued under Lord and Lady Grenville.

Whilst this area of c 234 ha (580 acres), representing some 67% of the land included on the Register, was correctly picked out as being of significance, and properly included in the area identified on the Register, its genesis was rather less straightforward than suggested. It dates from no earlier than 1804 when Grenville took possession of Boconnoc. However, the development of the Braddock Down Plantations, over the following years and decades, represents a continuation of an approach to estate management established by Camelford and followed by his daughter and Grenville; and after that, from her death in 1864, by his nephew Fortescue. (fig. 86) This approach relied on the incremental improvement of landscape through a process of setting out by eye rather than by deliberate design. It represents a high point in the development of one branch of the English landscape style, which can be described as the 'Naturesque',[136] which depends on process rather than desk-based design. This anticipates many twenty-first century attitudes toward nature and estate management.

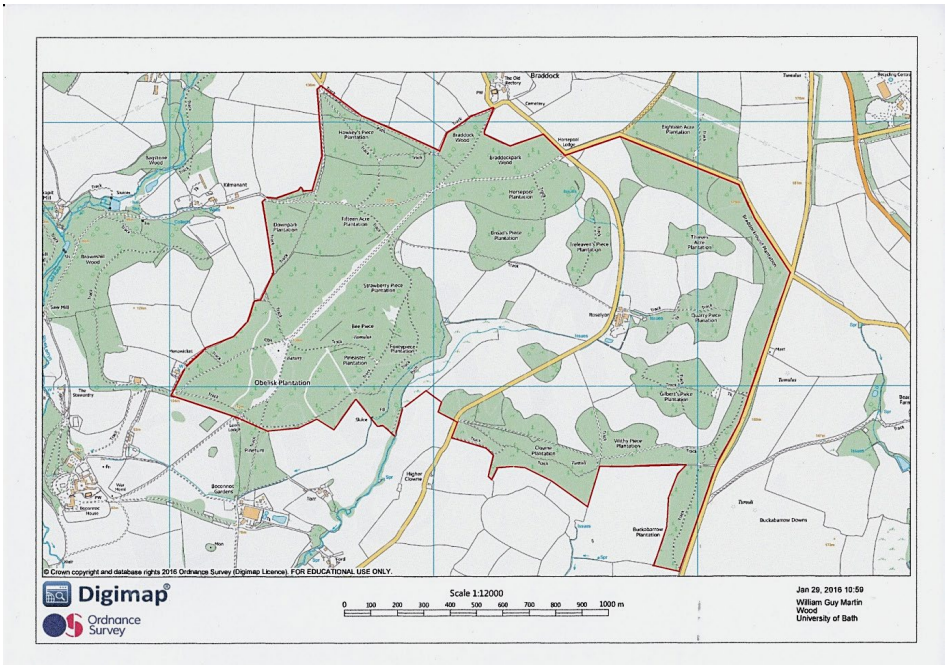

Figure 86; The Ordnance Survey depiction of the Braddock Down Plantations as they appeared to be before the removal of volunteer R. ponticum. © Digimap.

The map shows how the Braddock Down Plantations appeared at the date when the Register entry was made. The red line depicts the area calculated by the author as 234 ha. It can be seen that the notation of separate plantations had been lost where areas had been overcome by volunteer tree and shrub cover.

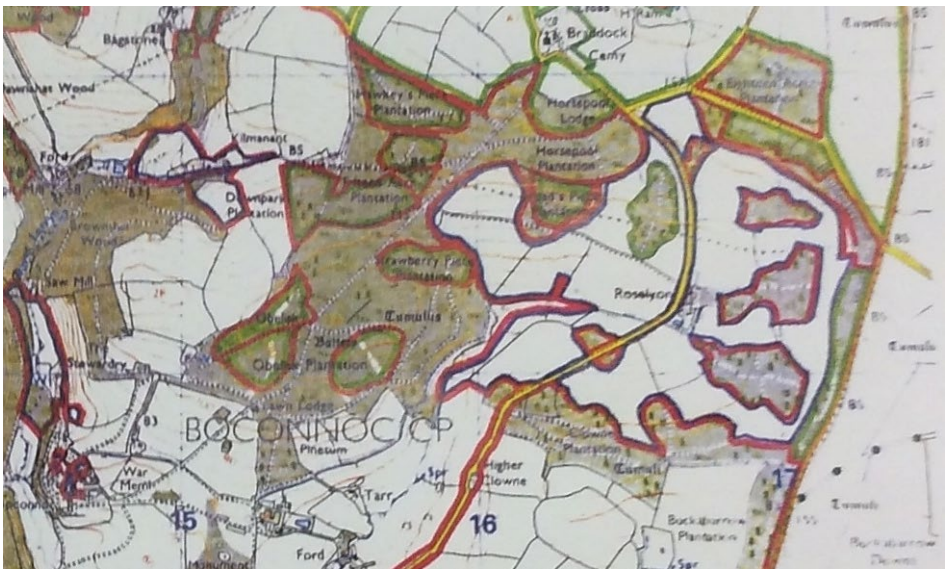

Figure 87; Part of a plan in the Boconnoc Estate Office prepared in the 1990's

Maps in the Estate Office, however, continued to distinguish the separate plantations on Braddock Down and reflect the original pattern of planting. (fig. 87)

During Camelford's lifetime the separate settlements of Boconnoc and Braddock were surrounded by extensive heathland which extended from Lanreath in a half circle round to St

Nighton's Beacon in St Winnow Parish. The Lawns of Boconnoc were separated from this by a 'reverse' ha-ha to contain stock. It was on that bare heath that Camelford had erected the Obelisk. Of the 1011 ha (2499 acres)[137] inclosed under the Boconnoc, Braddock and St Winnow, Inclosure Act, 1809,[138] the greater part was allotted to Grenville.[139] Encouraged by Grenville's efforts E. J. Glynn (a neighbouring landowner to the north) also inclosed a large body of moorland.[140] Together these brought about a transformation in the landscape of the area. The Act required the appointment of a Commissioner to hear the cases of the commoners and make appropriate allotments. The Commissioner was Lord Grenville's Agent John Bowen, such conflicts of interest being, in those days, of little concern. It was to be a lengthy process, with a number of doubtful claims being advanced, as evidenced by the Minute Book of evidence he heard.[141]

One requirement of the Act, the specification of the boundary banks and the planting of trees on them would appear to have the stamp of Lord Grenville's own drafting, since it created a particular effect when seen in the wider landscape of the inclosed down, that of forest trees growing at irregular intervals on high banks. These trees brought a significant degree of 'greening' to the otherwise relatively bare Cornish landscape as seen outside some of the other great estates which adopted similar methods. To some extent these remain and still give a distinctive flavour to the landscape. [142] (fig. 88)

Figure 88; The intermittent planting of forest trees on the banks forming the inclosures beside the road to Lostwithiel in St Winnow Parish. 2017. © Author.

The attribution of this requirement to Grenville rather than Bowen is clear from the discussion between him and Anne in the 1813 correspondence [Appendix 2]. She wrote from Malvern on 11 September;

> I am in constant admiration of the beauty of the orchards in this country the apples will all be gathered before you come but now they are beautiful. All our new inclosures I fancy will be too bleak but in sheltered situations. I have a notion it would answer to

> plant apple trees in the hedge rows. I think they would suffer so much less from damp than in the close orchards.[143]

He replied on 16 September, showing that in the matter of trees he was the master;

> I fear there is not the least chance of Apple trees growing on any of our new banks – they are too high.[144]

Two plans in the Cornwall Record Office relating to the Inclosure show that that while proposals for road alignment outlined on a plan in 1811[145] (fig. 97) were, broadly speaking, implemented, there remained indecision about the land uses which would follow, even as late as 1821 in what was still notated as a draft plan.[146] (fig.89)

Figure 89; Faint pencilled lines on a draft Inclosure Plan, prepared by John Bowen showing the road proposals - May 1811 CRO F/1/ 325 (DDF 325), without enhancement © Cornwall Record Office.

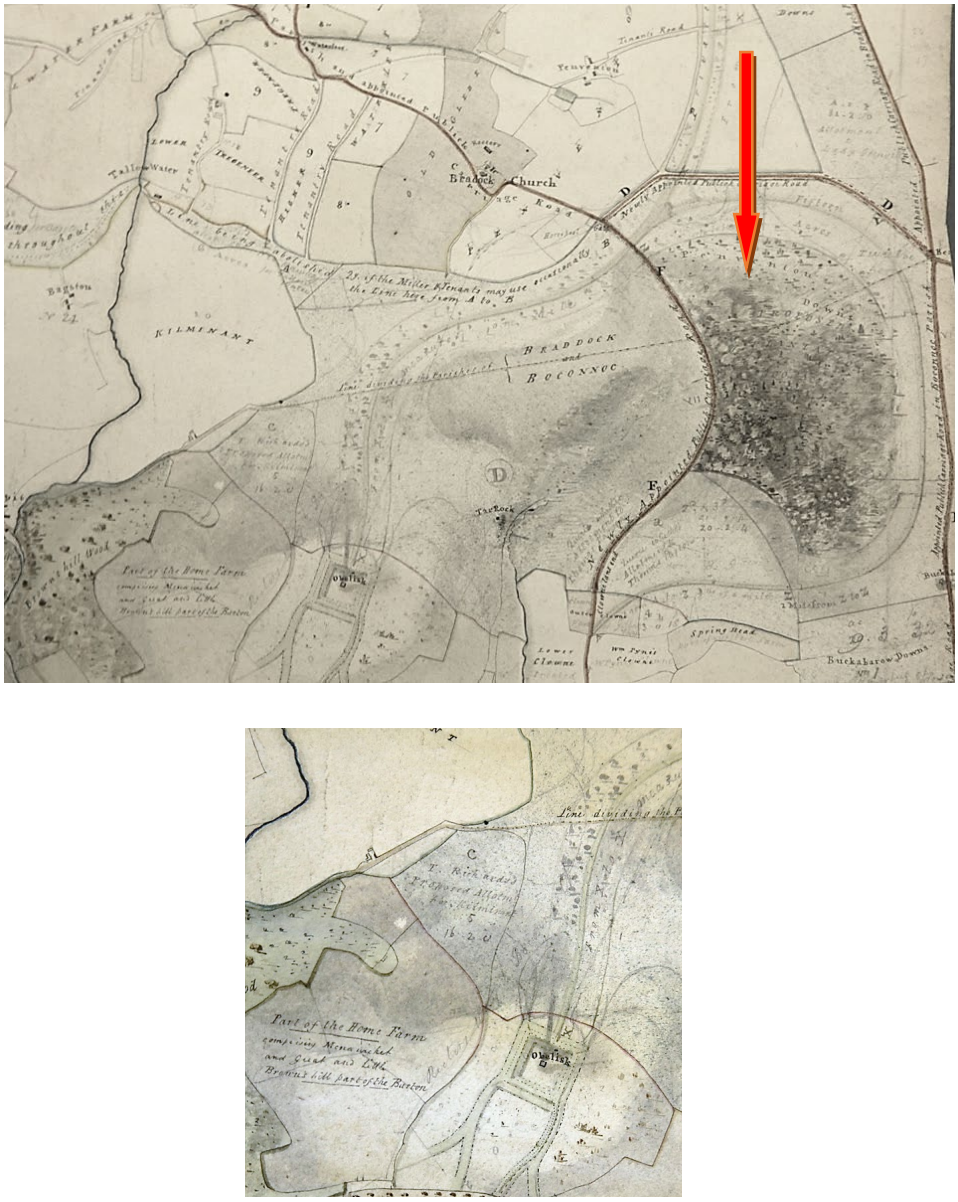

Figure 89; Above, part of the Commissioner's Draft Inclosure Plan c 1820 prepared by John Bowen CRO F/1/326. Below, an expanded view. © Cornwall Record Office.

The area proposed to be allocated for tree planting (unimplemented), shaded black is arrowed. Below, an expanded view of the area immediately adjacent to the Obelisk showing pencil marking of possible patterns of planting.

Two further drawings by Bowen in correspondence with Grenville also confirm that the road alignment was settled early on in the process of inclosure. (fig.90)

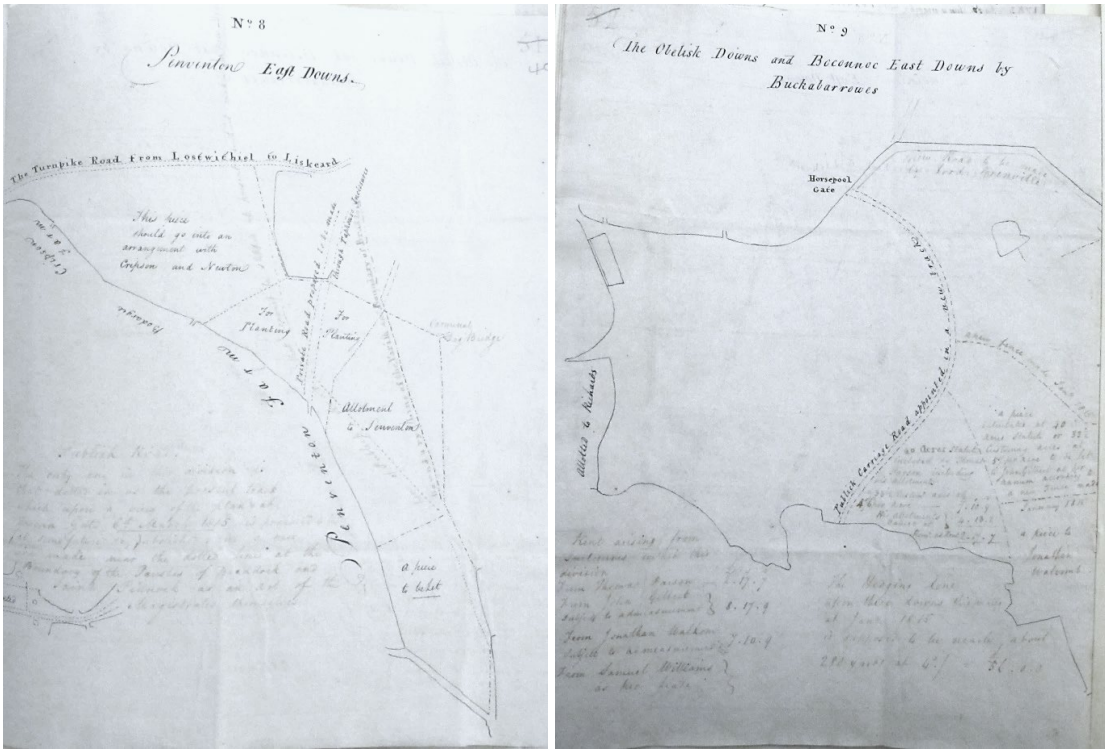

Figure 90; Two of nine detailed plans prepared by John Bowen relating to the Inclosure attached to a letter to Grenville dated March 1815 Add MS 59442 ff. 37-40 © British Library

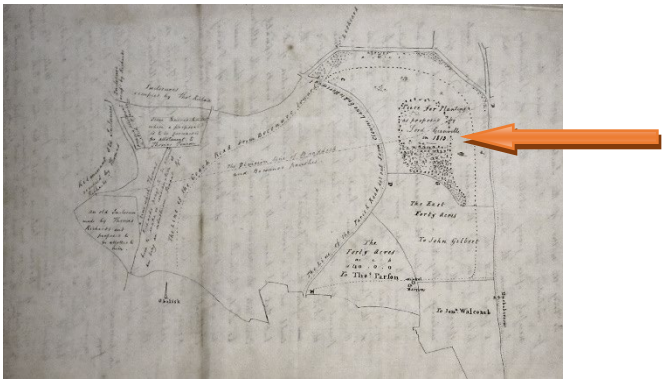

Figure 91; Plan prepared by John Bowen and attached to a letter to Grenville dated 22nd October 1814 BL Add MS 59441 f. 106v. The notation, arrowed, reads, 'Piece for planting as proposed by Lord Grenville in 1813'. British Library.

The 1820 plan suggests an intention to concentrate woodland planting to the east of a new road to be made between Upper Clowne and Horsepool. However, well before that time the Grenvilles had decided that it was best to plant trees on the land to north of the Obelisk rather than creating a farm there, and to do that slowly.(fig,91) [Appendix 2]. There were others who had an eye on using the moorland to the north of the Obelisk and as late as April 1829 Bowen reported to Grenville a proposal to establish a workhouse in that location. The passage

confirms that while Grenville had in mind to establish such plantations not much progress had been made in planting them;

> The attention of Landowners and others has been called to the consideration of a proposal for the Establishment of an Incorporated Workhouse…….. It appears Mr Walker [Clergyman] on the first view of the subject being limited to a few parishes near him had pointed at St Winnow Beacon, or thereabouts, and near St Nightons Chapel, as a proper place for the proposed buildings; but, other parishes coming in, a place more central for all was proposed, and the downs situate between the Boconnoc Obelisk and Braddock Church named by Mr Walker. On account of the plantations and drives your lordship proposed there, Mr Walker's suggestion is probably objectionable.[147]

On that 1811 plan ideas for part of the Down known as Thieves Acre and the land adjoining the north and east boundaries (where Braddockround Plantation has been established) were indicated. These informal marks have been added to the otherwise carefully drawn plan at some later stage. It is not possible to say with certainty who drew those lines and when. It may have been Grenville or Anne, it may have been Bowen, some later agent or George Mathew Fortescue in the 1850s thinking out how to carry Grenville's ideas into effect. (fig. 97) What can be relied on is Bowen's sketch plan of land to the north of the Obelisk in his letter to Grenville of 22 October 1814,[148] which notates an area at Thieves Acre 'Piece for Planting as proposed by Lord Grenville in 1813'. (fig. 100) It can be seen that Thieves Acre Plantation, as it is today, is not that as proposed by Grenville, and it appears that few of the plantations north of the extended Obelisk Plantation were carried into effect by Grenville himself, although there are references in Pond's reports to Grenville to sporadic bouts of planting at Clowne, Horsepool and Thieves Acre, such as:

> 4/4/1823. Planting Horsepool, Douna Hill, Clown.[149]
> 8/4/1830. Planting in the piece adjoining Broadoak Round (commonly called Thieves Acre)[150]

The reason for this delay appears in Grenvilles letter to Anne of 9 October 1813;

> I very much fear that we <u>must</u> renounce all idea of planting on Braddock downs. We must restrain the planting expense within a fixed limit, & do only so much annually as that will afford.

As late as 1817 a proper road from the Obelisk to Penventon and onward to the Turnpike had yet to be built, although one had been completed on a new alignment from the Obelisk down through the Lawns to the House. Grenville had not been able to make much progress in his intended planting of the inclosed downs after 1813. This is confirmed by a sketch by John Bowen included in a letter to Grenville, dated 31 December 1824 about the

land between the Obelisk and Braddock and the supporting text.[151] (fig. 93) The sketch also explains the presence of a deep ditch to the North of the Obelisk which has been thought to have been associated with drainage. It is now clear that the phased planting of the Obelisk Plantation between the stone faced ha-ha on the north side of the Lawns and this feature, was protected from stock using the open down first by an ordinary fence and then by this sunk fence. The full text of the letter reads as follows;

> Boconnoc December 31st 1824
> My Lord,
> To explain further the subject of my letter of yesterday I have endeavoured to submit a sketch (after the manner of a bird's eye view) of the ground: looking from the earth work entrenchment towards Braddock Tower. The blue spots represent the rings made around acorns that have made shoots and were sown by some casual means. The red spots shew scars made by the former practice of cutting turf for fuel, where, as it appears to me, the making of rings like the above and planting within them would much improve the face of these downs, and be very satisfactory to your Lordship and my Lady. Under the impression of this notion, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's consideration, this and my former letter for instructions.
> It is almost out of my power, I think, to convey to your Lordship a very perfect representation of what is hereby proposed: but I think your Lordship's own recollection of the downs will help out my imperfection.
> The parts coloured yellow adjoin the road leading round from Horsepool to Beara Corner (& by the boundary of the property against Lanreath parish) and thence towards Trecan Gate. These parts are in tillage and going into tillage (of one crop) as a preparation for planting.
> It is to be noticed that the earth put into the rings where the acorns grow, as denoted by blue spots, is taken from the line of road making over the downs , & from a piece of old bank left by an old and neglected inclosure (thrown into downs again) marked by dots; thus making the easiest clearance of what is in the way of completing the work ordered to be done.
> I remain my Lord, dutifully.
> Your Lordship's Servant, John Bowen.

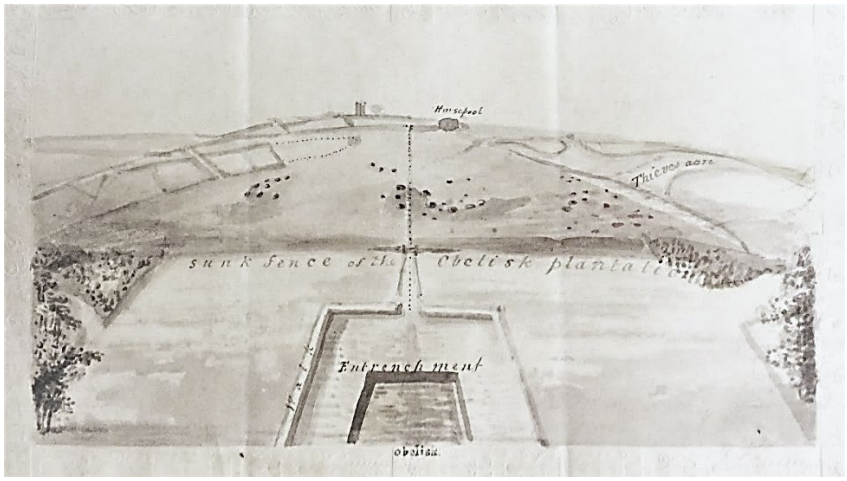

Figure 92; Bowen's Sketch referred to in his letter of 31st December 1824. Add MS 59445. f. 68. © British Library.

The colouring referred to by Bowen has become very faint although the spots and dots can still be seen.

From this period, although Grenville maintained a keen interest in the estate, for example corresponding with Bowen about alterations to the mansion house for Fortescue and his wife shortly before he died,[152] ambitions for substantial landscape improvement at Boconnoc seems to have ebbed away. He had nonetheless, with Anne, achieved a great deal, summed up in this unattributed poem with the heading 'Boconnoc':

> Thine the high task of manly intellect / Hers the soft arts that taste and genius love / Studious to deck there her paternal glades / With all that wins the eye or charms the sense / In fruit or plant, to clothe the mountain's brow / With unaccustomed verdure, or to rear / Where the bleak blast and barren crag forbid / The tenderer saplings growth, the hardy fir / Or pine best guardian of the future grove.[153]

Above all they had managed to enhance the essential quality of the landscape, as established by Camelford, in a way which remains evident today. The overall impression of Boconnoc is of a house set in a landscape of streams, fields and forest trees as Britton and Brayley saw in 1808, even if oaks have now advanced at the expense of the beech and a few strident hybrid rhododendrons have been planted close to the house;

> In the Park are some vestiges of ancient lead mines, one of which was worked in the reign of Charles the First, and again about the year 1750, but was not rich enough to defray the charges of the adventure. The neighbouring grounds are varied and broken, and possess considerable beauty, from being adorned with woody scenery, and retired vales, each watered by a babbling but pellucid brook, forming by their confluence the little river Lerryn. Through these woods and vales the late Lord Camelford had a pleasant ride carried, of about 6 miles in circuit, and so judiciously disposed, that easy access was given to the simple but pleasant scenery of nature, while the intrusions of art were concealed; the shrubbery, the green-house, and the parterre, which are of necessity trim and formal, being hidden from the sight, and almost from imagination. The tree most congenial to the soil is beech; though some oaks have here attained

considerable size, yet they do not posses that majesty , and stateliness of form, which distinguish them in some other parts of the kingdom.[154]

The way in which the Grenvilles extended the planting at Boconnoc in the period from 1804 to 1811, and proposed to do thereafter until 1822, is documented in records kept by Bowen (fig. 73).[155] There would be no shortage of trees to plant. Following Grenville's letter to Anne of 20 September 1813 on the subject, at Appendix 2, the nursery was expanded, and by 1817 the stock of young trees amounted to 114,149 plants across a broad range of native and long introduced forest trees (fig. 93). Save for the specific plantations of Sweet Chestnut (*Castanea sativa)* and Pinaster (*Pinus pinaster),* the mixed planting would have drawn from the range available in the nursery including a liberal sprinkling of Scots Pine (*Pinus sylvestris)*.

An Estimate made at Boconnoc, Octr 21. 1817 of the number and sorts of Plants in the New Nursery.

	1. In the Lower quarter	Totals in Each Bed
N 1	35 Ilex and 5 Turkey Oak	40
2	Holly	300
3	Hazel 150. Thorns 1000	1,150
4	Scotch 80. Thorn 500	680
5	Pynaster 240, Larch 120. Spruce 100	460
6	Spruce 120, Silver fir 120 Spruce 450. Scot 15	820
7	Beech 350 and Beech 600	950
8	Beech 180 and Beech 720	900
9	Scotch 4 yr transplanted	2,500
10	Scotch	1,400
11	Scotch	2,000
12	Scotch 1300 and 700	2,000
13 and 14	Apple Stocks	2,700
15	Ash 650, Beech 100, and Thorn 200	950
16	Spruce 1000 and 400	1,400
17	Pynaster 100 Spruce 1300	1,400
18	Oak	1,500
19	Sycamore 19. Scotch 400. Silver 400	819
20	Beech 600, and Chestnut 700	1,300
21	Scotch Fir	1,400
22	Scotch Fir 1200 Sycamore & Ash 200	1,400
23	Larch 400, Spruce 200, & Scotch 600	1,200
24	Ash 650 and Spruce 400	1,050
25	Oak	2,000
26	Sycamore	2,000
27	Spruce fir	2,000
28	Seedling Ash	2,000
29	Oak	2,000
30	Scotch fir	2,000
31	Scotch fir	2,000
32	Scotch fir	2,000
33	Scotch fir	2,000
34	Scotch fir 1500. Silver fir 500	2,000
35	Scotch fir	2,000
36	Scotch fir	2,000
37	Oak	2,000
38	Scotch fir	1,500
39	Spruce fir	1,500
40	Spruce fir	1,500
41	Larch	2,000
42	Larch	2,000
43	Chestnut	1,500
44, 45, 46 and 47	Scotch fir	5,500
		69,819

The Aforesaid Estimate Continued

	2. In the Upper Quarter	
1	Sweet Briar	50
2	Birch	120
3	Sycamore	400
4	Holly 700. Ash 50	750
5	Turkey Oak 100, Birch 150, Holly 80 Larch 8	410
6	Beech	700
7	Chestnut 1000, Larch 300 Beech 100	1,400
8	Larch	1,500
9	Larch 500 and Larch 1500	2,000
10	Larch	2,000
11	Blank	
12	Oak	1,500
13	Scotch 1000 and Scotch 800	1,800
14	Scotch	2,000
15	Beech	2,000
16	Beech	2,000
17	Sycamore	2,000
18	Larch	2,000
19	Larch	2,000
20	Scotch	1,000
21	Scotch 900 and Scotch 400	1,300
22	Scotch	1,400
23	Scotch	1,500
24	Scotch	1,800
25	Larch 600 Spruce 800. 100 Pyn	1,500
26	Pynaster firs	2,000
27	Birch	150
28	Ash 500 and Scotch fir 500	1,000
29	Scotch fir	1,500
30	Hornbeam 1500 Chestnut 150	1,650
31	Birch	500
32	Birch	1,400
33	Ash	1,500
34	Ash	1,500
	In The Upper Quarter	44,330
	In The Lower Quarter	69,819
	Total Number of Plants	114,149

[In pencil to one side with the addition of 114 and 57] 114 Thousand plants at 30 s p. thousand one with the other is £171.0.0

Figure 93; Estimate of the number and sorts of plants in the New Nursery 1817. BL Add MS 84019 © British Library.

All the first edition Ordnance Survey maps of the area indicate that there was, for the most part, a uniform practice of mixed planting including a significant proportion of conifers including Pinaster and Scots Pine. Given that the outlines of the plantations were intended to be aesthetically satisfactory it must be presumed that they were intended to be managed on the principles of Continuous Cover Forestry (CCF), a widespread forestry practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [156] This practice dropped out of favour with the development of 'Patch Clear-felling' which is now used in over 90% of managed forests in Britain. However, CCF is now encouraged by the Forestry Commission, where appropriate, and is summarised in a Commission Information Sheet as the 'avoidance of clear-felling of areas of much more than two tree heights wide without the retention of some trees.'[157] CCF can only be practiced once the tree cover has reached a reasonable degree of maturity. If clear felling is practiced at that stage, the next opportunity to commence the selective approach to felling will not occur for many decades.

One way of softening the outline of a wood or too straight a line of trees is to plant a few isolated trees or groups of trees a little way from the edge here and there. Because of the accuracy of the 1st edition Ordnance Survey these plans are most helpful in looking at nineteenth-century planting of this kind. A short reference in a letter from Grenville to Anne shows that Grenville was applying this principle when setting out planting. 'Today we stuck almost twenty stakes in Prouda Park, to break & vary the two lines of beeches there'.[158]

In particular, the planting of individual and small groups of trees also appear on the 1880 Ordinance Survey of the area between the Obelisk and Horsepool Lodge, and mirror the kind of planting seen in the Lawns. They were established on open ground which was still notated as being heathland. Notably, this was not followed when it came to setting out the plantations to the east of the new road from Upper Clowne to Horsepool, presumably in the interests of agricultural efficiency, and perhaps because such planting would not be effective in the same way when seen in a relatively distant view.

As argued above, the Grenvilles' general objective was not to create a 'picturesque' landscape, although as the 1813 correspondence between them shows they were aware of the importance of the particular look of some scenes from particular viewpoints.[159] However, as with 'editing' tree and shrub cover for picturesque effects as described by Price it is also a necessary part of improving landscape by showing off nature to best effect. This means, in appropriate places, leaving trees with interesting characteristics rather than the 'better' trees preferred by Price, as described in Chapter 3. Additional benefits of CCF techniques are that

they allow advantage to be taken of natural changes, enhance the ecological value of woodland, as well as maintaining the general appearance of the landscape.

In summary, during Grenville's lifetime the thrust of planting on the Lawns tended to move from north to the south while attention to the creation and improvement of plantations moved from the south and west toward the north. As far as possible the couple would improve the outline of existing plantations and establish any new plantations, in sensitive locations, in a way which Loudon suggested might be considered to give a 'beautiful' effect. Mixed planting was favoured with the intention of managing that to achieve continuous cover thereafter. They would further soften the outlines of their plantations by introducing individual and small groups of trees on their edges. They would introduce individual trees or small groups to add interest to larger open spaces whether on lawns or moors. They paid particular attention to techniques for planting on poor soils. They also began to establish evergreen shrubs within plantations. In dealing with established tree cover they generally adopted a naturesque approach, but they did have an eye for the attractiveness of scenes from some particular viewpoints.

The beautifully-drawn 1838 Tithe Map prepared by Bowen for Boconnoc, (fig. 94 & 95) does not, unfortunately, cover Braddock, and therefore does not give any indication of the extent of planting on the Down by that date, save for the area near the obelisk. It is, however the best evidence available of the extent of Grenville's planting within the parish in his lifetime. It is noticeable how the plantations are concentrated on areas with lower agricultural value and where they provided an amenity for the House and Grounds, so there was, and still is, little planting to the east of the Parish.

Figure 94; The 1838 Tithe Map for the Parish of Boconnoc. CRO TM/12 © Cornwall Record Office.

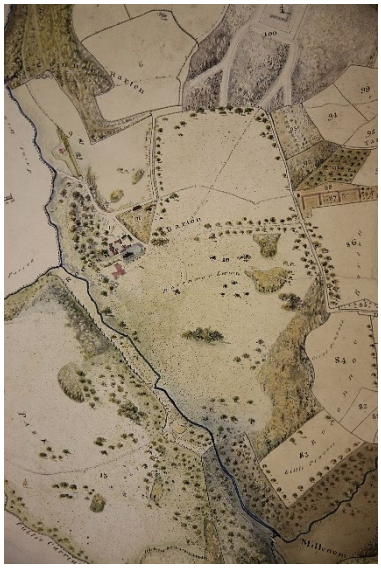

Figure 95; Detail of the 1838 Tithe Map showing the Lawns. CRO TM/12 © Cornwall Record Office.

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Handing on to George Matthew Fortescue

It was Anne and his nephew, Fortescue, who picked up the threads after Grenville's death in 1834. In doing so they followed ideas generated by Grenville and Anne over the 32 years they had enjoyed together. It took some time for Anne to take stock of her financial position, and some years for Fortescue to take the initiative in improving the landscape, as he established himself with his growing family in Cornwall.[160] That was, however, still under Anne's direction.[161] As a result there were further delays in planting on the Downs after Grenville's death. The correspondence between Fortescue and Anne Grenville on 7 March 1858 suggests that some of the planting between Boconnoc and Braddock now seen was not initiated until about 1840 some 6 years after Grenville's death;

> I was walking yesterday among some plantations in the downs towards Braddock made about 18 years ago– I was astonished at *** [the fast?] growth & how much they wanted, what they are now having, a good thinning. Some of the firs are fit to go to the saw mill to be cut into staves for china clay casks… .[162]

The passage which follows represents Fortescue's realisation of the capacity of the Downs for improvement and led to the actions recorded in account books for 1857-1862 relating to the new Roselyon Farm for which a double cottage was designed in 1857:

> The soil in those Braddock downs is very good and only requires to be ploughed deep & to be unstoned to be converted into fine productive pasture land and this we are by degrees doing the plantations giving the place shelter as well as adornment.

Those accounts show sustained efforts to improve the land by stone picking and subsoiling, applications of bone dust and Peruvian guano and the use of green manure.[163] It is likely that the four plantations at Roselyon currently held on a long lease by the Forestry Commission date from this period and were initiated in the last few years of Annes's life although they reflect and extend the planting practices established in earlier years by Grenville. Those plantations give shelter and adornment of the kind referred to in Fortescue's letter. They are remarkable for their period, and anticipate the ideas advanced by Dame Sylvia Crowe in *The Landscape of Forests and Woods* by a hundred years.[164]

The plantations surrounded by farmed land retained their shapes and separate identities since they were planted, but in the twentieth-century those on the open down, were slowly and surely overtaken by the outward spread of *Rhododendron ponticum* and laurels, with their companions of volunteer willow and birch, so that they appeared to coalesce, as seen in fig 94. This process can be traced through successive editions of the Ordnance Survey.

The widespread practice of planting evergreen shrubs, in particular *R. ponticum* and laurels as an understory in established and new plantations was one the Grenvilles subscribed to with enthusiasm, but this was later to cause problems and prove a challenge to landscape restoration at both Boconnoc and Dropmore. The establishment of *R. ponticum* in England after Loddges introduced the first seeds from a Dutch nursery in 1761 was slow at first. However, toward the end of the eighteenth century its value as an understory shrub in woodlands and as game cover[165] accelerated.[166] By 1841 Philip Frost, who had been brought up from Boconnoc to Dropmore as a gardener in 1822,[167] was able to write:

> Observing in the Gardeners' Chronicle that Rhododendrons are thought to seed themselves in woods but sparingly, I beg to inform those who wish to cultivate such plants that were they are grown in woods they are sure to sow themselves by tens of thousands. In the woods here [Dropmore] we have, by little attention, thousands of self-sown seedling *Rhododendron ponticum*, growing on any kind of soil excepting stiff clay…When in blooms nothing can surpass the beauty of Rhododendrons in woods; last year the woods here were quite enchanting with them [including *R. Catawbiense*, and 'Nepaul' hybrids]. It is very easy to fill woods with them, by sowing the seed broad-cast, where it is desirable to have them. …A man and a boy can collect enough to sow acres in a few hours where plants are plentiful; a calm day should be chosen for the operation, which should be done as soon as possible after the capsules burst, and the seed should be sown immediately.[168]

Writing to Anne on 30 November 1852, Fortescue also showed himself to be an enthusiast for establishing Rhododendron:

> The Warleggan contribution of Rhodos has an excellent effect on the east side of the house & we think quantities of them scattered over the downs – Druids Hill, outside the plantations, where we already have a few would look very well. We have asked for a lot of [***] from Eggesford where they self sow themselves and think of applying for a (quantity) from Frost.[169]

Anne replied confirming how easily they could be raised from seed:

> No chance of any Rhododendrons from Frost we are much more in the begging than giving line. You should have raised quantities from seed, which in your soil can be done without trouble.[170]

Seven years later Fortescue was still beavering away establishing evergreen shrubs on Braddock Down and wrote to Anne on 7 January 1859:

> The weather since the rain has cleared has been very pleasant & propitious for planting about which we are busily occupied chiefly in the shrub and evergreen line among the heath near Tar rock.[171]

Not only does this technique seem to have been used effectively in some of the Braddock Down Plantations but Frost's estimate of the capacity of the species to self-seed itself is borne out by the way the R. ponticum spread itself out from the separate plantations to cover the majority of the area either side of the Obelisk drive. As late as 1880 the land between the plantations remained either as moorland or had been improved for agriculture. With a programme of active management these shrubs can be contained as an attractive feature, but at both Boconnoc and Dropmore long periods of neglect allowed them to dominate and destroy carefully contrived patterns of planting, and has proved to be one of the principle challenges in landscape restoration at both properties.

During repairs to the Obelisk in 2006 John Willis, the then Agent for the Estate, was able to take some oblique photographs from the scaffolding. One of these, taken in May can be compared with Bowen's Sketch to show how the landscape developed between 1824 and 2006. (figs. 96 & 97).

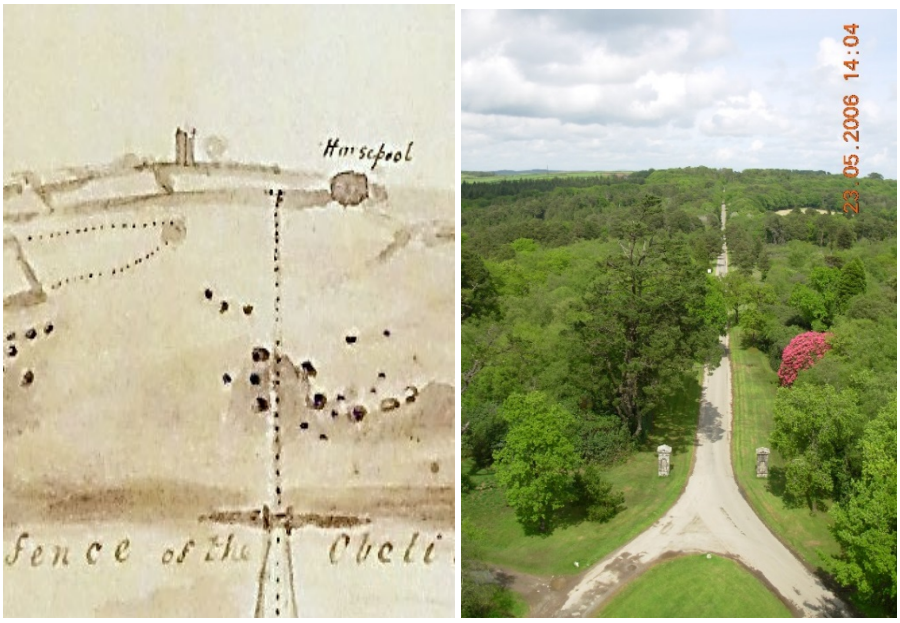

Figure 96; Left, a detail of John Bowen's 1824 sketch of Braddock Down. © British Library. Right, Photograph taken from the top of the Obelisk in 2006. © John Willis

Figure 97; Before the clearance of *R. ponticum* nothing was seen to either side of the Obelisk Drive © 2016 Author

The removal of the evergreen shrubs, and the growth of volunteer trees, from 2010 to 2016, under a scheme to reduce the threat of *Phytophtera ramorum,* has revealed the true extent of the pattern of plantations created by Fortescue as seen from the Obelisk drive, and allowed the Obelisk, once again, the prominence in the landscape it deserves.[172] (figs. 98 & 99)

Figure 98; Left. The Obelisk in 2010. Right. Once more a prominent feature in the landscape. 2015 © Author.

As the clearing progressed the shapes of the Barrow, Strawberry Piece and Fifteen Acre plantations slowly emerged. (fig. 111)

Figure 99; The well-defined perimeter of Strawberry piece with its mixed planting. 2015 © Author

There were also some surprises, on both sides of the Obelisk Drive Monkey Puzzles *Araucaria araucana* had been planted as some of the sporadic trees in the open areas, probably by Fortescue. (fig. 100)

Figure 100; Monkey Puzzle Trees seen here near the Obelisk Drive after the removal of the *R. ponticum.* 2015 © Author.

The Boconnoc Estate intends to restore relationship between open areas and the Obelisk Drive and to allow the shape of Strawberry Piece, Barrow and Fifteen Acre Plantations to be seen once again in the context of the wider pattern of planting. A further challenge will be to return to CCF practices and mixed planting in those areas to avoid clear felling or uniform parcels of conifers. This is a challenge which also faces the Forestry Commission in their management of the Roselyon Plantations which they hold on a long lease from the Estate . (figs. 101 & 102)

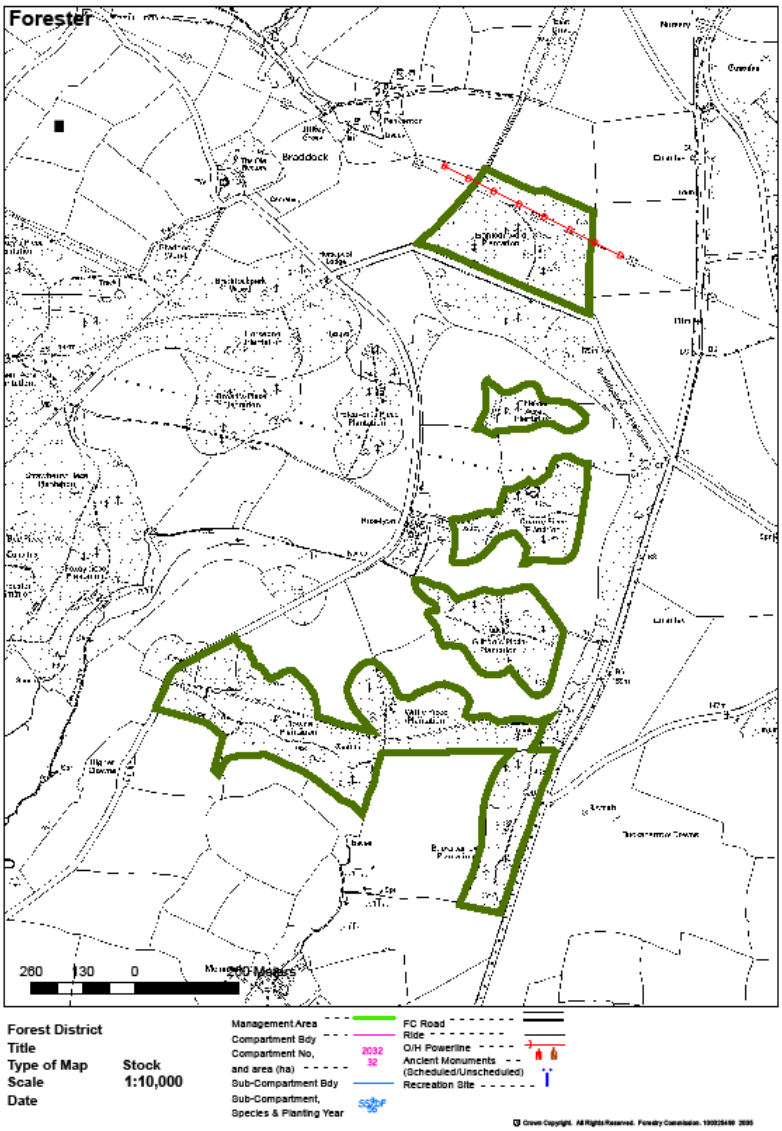

Figure 101; The parts of the Braddock Down Plantations at Roselyon now held by the Forestry Commission under a long lease. © Forestry Commission.

Figure 102; The view across to Roselyon from the Obelisk Drive. 2013. © Author.

The deciduous cover of Treleaven's Piece contrasts with the Forestry Commission's use of single stands of conifers beyond.

Setting out planting on an open down to give an impression of naturalness is no easy task. In a passage dealing with the differences between painting and landscape gardening, Repton discussed this;

> Planting a Down,
> There is no part of landscape gardening more difficult to reconcile to any principles of landscape painting than the form of plantations to clothe a naked down. If the ground could be spared , perhaps the best mode would be to plant the whole, and afterwards cut it into shape; it might then be considered a wood interspersed with lawns; and this must be far more pleasing to the eye than a lawn patched with wood, or rather, dotted with clumps, for it is impossible to consider them as woods, or groups of trees, while so young as to require fences. The effect of light and shade is not from the trees, but from the lines of posts and rails, or the situation of boxes and cradles with which they are surrounded; and these being works of art , they must appear artificial, whether the lines be straight of curved. Although much has been said about the sweeping lines of wood following the natural shapes of the ground, the affectations of such lines is often more offensive than a straight line, which is always the shortest , generally the easiest to disguise , and very often appears curved, and even crooked, from crossing uneven ground. The sweeping lines of art, when applied to nature, become ridiculous, because they are liable to be compared with works of art, and not of nature.[173]

Judged against this passage, the laying out of the Braddock Down plantations as a whole proved remarkably successful, until Rhododendron and other volunteers overtook them. They must, however, have appeared to be somewhat stilted interventions in the landscape when first planted, as Repton suggested they might. This is illustrated by the contrast between the established plantations at Roselyon and new fencing below Tarr Rock shown in a photograph of around 1898 in Dorothy Fortescue's Album. (fig.103)

Figure 103; New fencing on the open down is contrasted with the established outlines of the Roselyn Plantations. Dorothy Fortescue's Photograph Album c1898. © Private Collection.

The photograph gives an indication of the lasting value of the planting style developed by Grenvilles at Boconnoc

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[1] It is arguable that the registered area omits some areas of historic significance, for example, the Penventon Plantation established as part of the landscape treatment of the approach to Boconnoc from the East Lodge shortly after the Inclosure.

[2] A full account of the circumstances surrounding the duel are given in Chapters XI & XII of Tolstoy, Nikolai,*The Half-Mad Lord, Thomas Pitt 2nd Baron Camelford* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978)

[3] Ibid.

[4] Lorigan, Catherine, *Boconnoc: The History of a Cornish Estate* (Stroud: History Press, 2017), 56.

[5] Philippe II, Duc d'Orleans was Regent of France after the death of Louis XIV. The diamond was set into the crown of Louis XV and later worn by him in his hat. It was later set into the hilt of one of Napoleon's swords and is now in the Musée du Louvre. The stone is now known as 'The Regent' after Phillippe II.

[6] BL Add MS 69333, 'Family Characters and Anecdotes', written by Camelford (then Pitt) for Thomas Pitt. f.6

[7] Conscious of rumours that he had come by the stone unlawfully, and was even complicit in murder, The Governor wrote his own exculpatory account. Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol I.*, 48. Narrative of Governor Thomas Pitt, of the circumstances connected with the purchase of the PITT DIAMOND. 1710 July 29 Bergen.

[8] Family Characters, f.6.

[9] Ibid.

[10] The Governor gained full control over the two seats for Old Sarum (less than 11 qualified voters) one of the two at Okehampton and strong influence on the election of members for Camelford and Grampound. That is leaving aside boroughs controlled by other associates who could be called upon to find places for the families nominees.

[11] Lorigan, *Boconnoc*, 57.

[12] See generally Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore Vol I.*

[13] Family Characters, f.8.

> The estates purchased by the Gov'r were scatter'd in London, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Devonshire & Cornwall, which render'd them much less advantageous than if they had been thrown together in one county with a fit residence in the centre of it. It happen'd that the Estate at Blandford St. Mary's where he was born was to be sold & and it was natural he should be desirous of being owner of it. He then thought of building upon it & making it his residence. The younger part of his family dissuaded him from this project as it would have led him into great expense to the benefit only of the

elder brother; and under various pretences, some of which were not ill founded, prevailed with him, after he had gone so far as to demolish the old mansion & to bring together several materials for the new one, to abandon his enterprise in favour of Swallowfield in Berkshire, where however he contrived to throw away as much money in a very ugly place with no property about it.

[14]The distinction between the Park and the Lawns at Boconnoc is discussed in Min Wood, "Parks and Lawns," *The Cornish Garden, The Journal of the Cornish Garden Society* 58 (2015).

[15] Lorigan, *Boconnoc*, 147.

[16] Family Characters, f.9.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Fitzgerald, Sarah and Min Wood, *Down House, Attribution to Lancelot Brown. A Report for Dorset Gardens Trust* (2014)

[19] BL Add MS 71594, f.188, Sharman to Grenville, 17 October 1811.

[20] Family Characters, f.64.

When I first visited Boconnoc after my return to England I could have shed tears at the scene of desolation that presented itself to one. The furniture had been sold by the creditors by auction, and I had not a bed to lie upon. There remained nothing but the books which were heir looms and some boxes of old china that had been saved from the wreck. Without doors the Gardens were in weeds, the woods had been cut down & the walks could no longer be traced. Fine groves of old oaks had been destroy'd within sight of the windows & the very lawns had been broken up & left in ridge and furrow by the carelessness of those who look'd only to draw from the estate all the profit that could answer their purpose & leave it a wilderness to those who might come after them. The partiality I have ever had for the place of my nativity & of my earliest habits made me determine to stop the ruin if it were possible: & tho I never flatter'd myself with being able to give it the improvements it has since receiv'd. I determined at least that it should not be totally abandon'd. I fitted up beds in the ? attics I put some chairs & tables in the old eating room & in the library; & in that manner provided for passing a month or two there every summer. Upon leaving my House at Whitehall I added something to the furniture; the Dutchess [of Bridgewater] presented me with an old Chintz Bed which was useless to her; I pick'd up other things at auction & by degrees made it a comfortable dwelling. The same gradual improvement took place without doors. I advanced upon a plan which every year brought nearer to completion; till my marriage opening to me other views & rendering it necessary to make it a place of residence for my family & for my Posterity. I determined to launch out into an expence that I flatter myself will leave you little to add for your comfort and convenience and which will be well bestow'd if it contributes to your pleasure as much as it has to mine.

[21] Burnham Historians, Mary Bentley, Daphne Chevous, and Mervyn Eden, *Dropmore and Littleworth, the Story of a South Bucks Parish* (Maidenhead, 1996), 34.. In fact the sale of the estate to Lord Kemsley did not take place until 1943 after a period of requisition as the headquarters of the Canadian Army in England.

[22] Although it appears that Camelford did receive considerable financial help from his wife Anne and her father, he hoped to receive a good deal more on the death of Wilkinson in 1784. To his friend Benjamin Forster, Parson of Boconnoc, explaining his purchase of Petersham Lodge he wrote ' My fortune is an improving one and when a certain event happens, I may be equal to the three objects of London, Petersham and Cornwall, in the meantime I must confine myself to the first two on the most frugal plan. Camelford to Forster, BL Add MS 59488, f.9. Those hopes were dashed. In a further letter in 1785 he told him 'I had flattered myself that ... Mr Wilkinson's death would at least have improved my circumstances, but on the contrary it has in many instances increased my expence without hitherto affording us a shilling to defray it. f.100 v.

[23] CRO F/3/14/11, The '1772' Estate Plan.

[24] BL Add MS 69176, Catalogued as 'Bound volume with loose folios relating to work to be done at Boconnoc; entries by the 1st Lord Camelford and by Grenville; 1764-1785, 1804-1817', referred to by the Author as the Minute Book.

[25]Wood, Min. 'Parks and Lawns'

[26] There are two unexplained features in the wider grounds, the Cockpit or Bastion which remains, and the Pheasantry shown on the Tithe Plan of 1836 which does not appear on the 1st Edition OS Map. No evidence has emerged that Camelford created either of these, and they may predate his occupation. The bastion which then stood in open ground within the Deer Park, seems oddly located for a viewing point but does command the junction between the Lerryn River and a tributary and so may have had a military purpose. Later, a pheasantry is notated on the first edition OS map in a different location, close to Horsepool. A game cart would be sent regularly from Boconnoc to wherever the family happened to be so the likely explanation for the pheasantry was simply to allow for the rearing of pheasants.

[27] RIBA Drawing Collection, 94660-94667.

[28] Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La Théorie Et La Pratique Du Jardinage; 'the Theory and Practice of Gardening' as Translated by John James and Published in English in 1712.* , trans. John James (London:Atkins, 1712).
[29] Minute Book , f.172.
[30] Ibid. f.173.
[31] V&A Catalogue entry for RIBA 94662.
[32] Vernon, Joanna Elizabeth, *Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford; Amateur Architect, Connoisseur and Patron of the Arts. A Case Study in the History of Taste 1760 -1793* Royal Holloway College, London University, (1993).
[33] Family Characters, f.73.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Lever, Sir Tresham, *The House of Pitt* (London: Murray, 1947), 138.
[36] Family Characters, f.52.
[37] Ibid. f.55.
[38] Lever*The House of Pitt*, 140.
[39] Family Characters, f.1.
[40] William Pennington of Bodmin Priory whose niece and her husband Mr & Mrs Gilbert would later help the Grenvilles by keeping an eye on the Boconnoc Estate for them.
[41]BL Add MS 59488, f. 30.
[42] Born at Boconnoc, on his death his body was brought back to Boconnoc for burial. His grave was not marked but he was commemorated by a stone (now lost) in the Churchyard wall with the word *esse*, I existed.
[43]BL Add MS 59488, f.55.
[44] Josiah Wedgwood, *A Journey into Cornwall, in Company with Mr. Turner in Search of Growan Stone & Clay Etc.* (Transcript C 1960), 1775, Truro, 12-13.
[45] Letters from Camelford to Grenville, BL Add MS 69042, ff.12, 98.
[46] BL Add MS 69042, f.57. It is likely that those works were where the track from Couch's Mill crosses over the Lerryn by a Stone Bridge where a waterfall and a leat to the Mill had been made. The cryptic reference to interesting conversations was probably to their mutual enthusiasm for a marriage between Anne and Grenville.
[47] Harney, *Walpole*, 138-139. At Strawberry Hill Camelford was for a time a member of Horace Walpole's 'Committee of Taste', Walpole writing 'He draws Gothic with Taste'.
[48] Harris, John, *A Passion for Building: The Amateur Architect in England 1650 – 1850* (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007)
[49] Sir John Soane Museum Archive, Private Correspondence IV P 2 36.
[50] Sir John Soane Museum Archive, Private Correspondence IV P 2 9.
[51] Lorigan, *Boconnoc*, 69.
[52] 'It is my desire that my Funeral may be conducted with as little Expense and Ostentation as decency will admit of I would be buried in the place that gave me birth and was dearest to me when living and where I flatter myself I may be remembered with respect. I would be borne from the House to my Grave by my old Labourers.' opc-cornwall org. It is not known where Camelford was buried in the Churchyard.
[53]BL Add MS 69291, Anne Pitt's Diary.
[54] BL Add MS 59440, f.11v, 12r, Bowen to Grenville, 12 July 1812.
[55] Walter H Tregellas, *Cornish Worthies, Volume 2 (of 2), Sketches of Some Eminent Cornish Men and Women* (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/46530/46530-h/46530-h.htm accessed 26/6/2015: Project Gutenberg, 1884).
[56] Minute Book, f.168v.
[57] CRO AD621/11, 12. Wedgwood. Copied from Common Place Book 28408-39, Wedgwood Museum, Stoke-on-Trent.
[58] William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England and the Isle of Wight* (London: Cadell, 1798). 442.
[59] BL Add MS 59469A, Boconnoc Accounts, 1807-10
[60] Lorigan, *Boconnoc,* 150 - 151.
[61] As in the Photograph Album of Louisa Fortescue. HRO 115M88_P27
[62] BL Add MS 69159 f.14.
[63] BL Add MS 69052, f.3.
[64] Family Characters', f.63.
[65] John Mulholland reported on the state of buildings on the estate to the Grenvilles with recommendations about necessary repairs see BL Add MS 69177, ff 111-119 and *see* Lorigan, Boconnoc. 152.
[66] As Camelford wryly wrote to Forster 'I have long thought a roof is good for anything but to keep out wet.' Lord Camelford and Benjamin Forster, Correspondence between Lord Camelford and Benjamin Forster, 1780 - 1788, BL Add MS 59488, f.28, 1 February 1781.
[67] BL Add MS 69042, f. 57, Camelford to Grenville, 9 December 1790.

[68] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*.
[69] Family Characters, f.63v.
[70] Nominations of Gamekeepers - Lostwithiel Quarter Sessions, October 1751, QS/1/2/273. CRO.
[71] http://www.inquisitionspostmortem.ac.uk/view/inquisition/21-603/605 [Accessed 28.07.2017].
[72] Minute Book, f.174..
[73] BL Add MS 59488, Camelford Correspondence with Benjamin Forster.
[74] Ibid. f.105. This letter from Thomas Rhind dated 4 January 1786 to Camelford somehow found its way into this volume.
[75] Tolstoy, *The Half-Mad Lord.*
[76] BL Add MS 71549, f.104, Bowen's summary of woodland operations, 1811.
[77] Lorigan, *Boconnoc*, 74.
[78] BL Add MS 69047, f.20, Mrs Gilbert to Anne, 9 October. 1811.
[79] Dodds, Pam and Joy Wilson, "Recording Boconnoc Garden," *Cornwall Gardens Trust's Journal* (2004), http://www.cornwallgardenstrust.org.uk/boconnoc-garden/ Accessed 31.07.2017.
[80] BL Add MS 58873, f.134, Grenville to Anne, 20 September 1813. *See* Appendix 2.
[81] BL Add MS 58873, f.147, Anne to Grenville, 24 September 1813. *See* Appendix 2.
[82] BL Add MS 69050, f.169, Fortescue to Anne, 20 July [1833].
[83] Lorigan, *Boconnoc*, 86.
[84] Historic England Listing: Bathing Pool, Bath House and - walls, 150m north west of Boconnoc House List entry Number: 1140358 Grade II Bathing pool and bathing house with enclosing walls, circa early and late C19. Enclosing 2.4 metre high rubble stone walls with rusticated granite coping. Pierced on south side by entrance comprising raised, reset C15/C16 2-centred moulded doorway in south-east corner with quatrefoils in the spandrels. These walls surround the rectangular sunken bathing pool lined with ashlar granite blocks. Stone steps lead down into pool on north-east corner. Fountain on west side with carved stone lions head in moulded stone surround surmounted by decorated curved pediment with volutes. Early C19 bathing house on east side with coursed stone walls and slate pyramid roof with deep eaves. Stone chimney stack on north-east corner. Single storey, almost square in plan. Opposing doors on north and south with ½-glazed door below dressed stone voussoirs on west. This door leads directly into pool. Interior with benches in recessed niches on 2 sides. Plain shallow barrel vaulted plaster ceiling. The Pool much overgrown. [The overgrowth now cut back]
[85] http://www.cornwallgardenstrust.org.uk/boconnoc-garden. [Accessed 29.07.2017].
[86] BL Add MS 69042, f.90, Camelford to Grenville, 23 January 1791.
[87] Dodds and Wilson, *Recording*.
[88] Ibid. John Mulholland, who had trained as an architect under James Wyatt acted both as Steward to the 2nd Lord Camelford and contractor to the Grenvilles.
[89] CRO. F/1/220 25th July 1805.
[90] BL Add MS 59469A, f.11, 10.11.1808, Cyder for labourers building bath; f.15, 09.02.1809 Plastering Boconnoc Bath to the 2nd Sept 1808.
[91] Hickman, Clare, *Taking the Plunge; 18th-Century Bath Houses and Plunge Pools.*, vol. 37. 4, *Historic Gardens* (Cathedral Communications, 2010).
[92] Marsden, Jonathan, *Stowe Landscape Gardens* (1997), Ch.2, 21.
[93] Alexander, Magnus et al., *Audley End* (English Heritage, 2011). Research Report Series 46/2011.
[94] BL Add MS 59440, ff.1&2.
[95] Minute Book, f.141.
[96] Tour to South Wales, f.3.
[97] BL Add MS 71594, f.73, Sharman to Anne, February 1811.
[98] SSSI citation of 'international importance for its particularly rich and diverse lichen flora. Some 188 species of epiphytic lichens have been recorded here; the largest recorded number for any site of comparable size in Western Europe.
[99] BL Add MS 71594, f.152, Grenville to Bowen, 2 September 1811.
[100] BL Add MS 58873, f.157, Anne to Grenville, 25 September 1813. [Appendix 2]
[101] BL Add MS 58873, f.206, Grenville to Anne, 9 October 1813. [Appendix 2]
[102] The Boconnoc Park and Woods Site of Special Scientific Interest is described at Natural England, *Boconnoc Park and Woods SSSI* (https://designatedsites.naturalengland.org.uk/PDFsForWeb/Citation/1002190.pdf (accessed 8.05.2018).
[103] Lorigan, *Boconnoc*, 187.
[104] Ibid., 193.
[105] Ibid., 194-5.
[106] BL Add MS 59444, f.4. In 1819 Bowen suggested to Grenville that the clay mine in St Stephens in Brannel could bring in £400 p.a.

[107] BL Add MS 58873, f 204.
[108] BL Add MS 58873, f.113. A 'sett' was a form of mining licence widely used in the West Country designed to produce a return for the landowner and set out any conditions attached to it.
[109] *See* BL Add MS 59440
[110] Lorigan, *Boconnoc,* 193 and *see* BL Add MS 59440 Grenville's correspondence with Bowen.
[111] BL Add MS 59440, f.80, Grenville to Bowen, 20 November 1813.
[112] Ibid., f.169, Bowen to Grenville, 8 March 1814.
[113] Askew Nelson.
[114] BL Add MS 69050, f.171, Fortescue to Anne, [undated, possibly Autumn 1833].
[115] BL Add MS 59440, f.143, Bowen to Grenville, 26 January 1814.
[116] BL Add MS 71594, f.106, Bowen to Grenville, 13 May 1811.
[117] BL Add MS 71594, f.117 et seq., Grenville to Bowen, 17 June 1811.
[118] BL Add MS 71594, f.139, Bowen to Grenville, 13 August 1811.
[119] William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England and the Isle of Wight* (London: 1798), 442.
[120] William Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery, and Other Woodland Views* (London: Blamire, 1791).
[121] Ibid., Vol. I, Section VI.
[122] Ibid., Vol. I, Section VII.
[123] Ibid., Vol. II.
[124] They would have also known William Gilpin, *A Dialogue Upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (Buckingham: Seeley, 1748).
[125] Tour to South Wales.
[126] Shavington 'Red Book'. Private Collection. He had given the same advice to the R.P. Carew at Antony, part of which he copied into the Shavington Red Book.
[127] Repton, *Sketches and Hints,*
[128] C.C.L. Hirschfeld, ed. *Theory of Garden Art*, ed. John Dixon Hunt, *Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2001), (1779-1785), 356-359.
[129] Prince von Pückler-Muskau, *Hints on Landscape Gardening*, trans. Bernard Sickert (New York Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917 (1834). Chapter VII.
[130] Grenville made an exception to this where they suited the character of buildings 'in the old stile' as he found at Hampton Court in Herefordshire. Tour of South Wales.
[131] Loudon, *Observations.*
[132] Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting.* Kindle Edn. Loc. 21.
[133] Hogarth. *The Analysis of Beauty.*
[134] Loudon, *Observations*, 92.
[135] OED online [Accessed 9.2.2018].
[136] Curl, and Wilson, *Dictionary*, Kindle Edn Loc. 44855.
[137] Menneer, Robin, "Post-Mediaeval Hedges in Cornwall (1540-1840)," *Cornish Hedges Library* (2007), [Accessed 26.6.2018], 10. Given as 1011 ha (2449) acres in the Inclosure Award of 1822. CRO QSPDA/1.
[138] CRO AD1240/17/7.
[139] The particulars of the Allotments are at CRO QSPDA/1, 1822.
[140] Menneer, *Post-Mediaeval Hedges*, 12.
[141] CRO F/1/233.
[142] Inclosure Act 1809.
[143] BL Add MS 58873, f. 72, Anne to Grenville, 11 September 1813. [Appendix 2].
[144] BL Add MS 58873, f.110, Grenville to Anne, 16 September 1813. [Appendix 2]
[145] CRO F/1/325.
[146] CRO F/1/326.
[147] BL Add MS 69178, f.93, Bowen to Grenville, 22 April 1829.
[148] BL Add MS 59441, f.106v, Bowen to Grenville, 22 October 1814.
[149] BL Add MS 59446, f.79.
[150] Minute Book, f.139.
[151] BL Add MS 59445, f.68, Bowen to Grenville, 31 December 1824.
[152] BL Add MS 59050, f.169, Fortescue to Anne, 20 July [1833].
[153] BL Add MS 69373, f.34.
[154] Britton, John and Edward Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. II (London: 1808), 404.
[155] BL Add MS 71549.
[156] Helliwell, Rodney and T Wilson, "Continuous Cover Forestry in Britain," *Quarterly Journal of Forestry* 106 (2012).

[157] Mason, Bill, Gary Kerr and James Simpson, *What Is Continuous Cover Forestry?*, Forestry Commission, Vol. FCIN, pt. 29 (Edinburgh, 1999).
[158] BL Add MS 58873, f.183, Grenville to Anne, 1 October 1813. [Appendix 2].
[159] BL Add MS 58733, f.30, Grenville to Anne, 6 September 1813. [Appendix 2].

> I'm just returned from a very long walk over the greatest part of the park & place. One thing has vexed me thoroughly. In order to meet the demands for the Dawna & other buildings in point of timber Bowen has cut more than I fear you would have liked, or than I should have myself approved, & two or three trees which from their situation I fear you would miss very much. It is thoroughly provoking. I am sure he did not mean to do wrong, but I think he has had too much an idea that he was to follow his own taste, & a worse he could not follow. I have scolded him till I almost put myself in a passion & till he almost cried, but the mischief is irremediable. I heartily wish you were here to see it, tho' I know it would vex you – but I am afraid of your thinking it worse than it is, & fretting about it more than the thing is really worth, & yet I cannot help mentioning it to you.
>
> It is not that any of the best trees are cut, but that several indifferent ones are taken out in situations where they will be missed – one in particular, at the very top of the Grove near the House, & another near the opening of Sowden's Valley, & one or two others in cases of less importance, but still where they are missed.

[160] Two examples of this apart, from the planting on Braddock Down, was his creation of the Pinetum and the Wellington 'Group' in 1852-53. To Anne in December 1852, at BL Add MS 69054, f.95, he wrote '… I walked to the school for the first time yesterday & on my way looked at the Wellington group of trees. I approve as I think you would, of their position tho' I am inclined to displace the Irish yew from the centre & to put the stone of inscription in its place.
[161] *See* BL Add MS 69055, f.59v., Anne to Fortescue, 13 June 1853, quoted in Chapter 1.
[162] Ibid., f.136, Fortescue to Anne. [7 March 1858].
[163] CRO F/3/15/196.
[164] Crowe, Dame Sylvia, *The Landscape of Forests and Woods; Forestry Commission Booklet No 44* (London: HMSO, 1978).
[165] The 1880 OS shows a pheasantry in Braddockpark Wood to the east of the Obelisk Drive suggesting that by then the Inclosure Plantations were offering suitable cover for game birds.
[166] Drower, George, *Garden Heroes and Villains* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006).
[167] Musgrave, Toby, *The Head Gardeners* (London: Aurum Press, 2007), 92.
[168] Frost, Philip, "Rhododendrons," *Gardeners' Chronicle* 1841, 85.
[169] BL Add MS 69054, f.63, Fortescue to Anne, 30 November 1852.
[170] BL Add MS 69054, f.65, Anne to Fortescue, December 1852.
[171] BL Add MS 69060, f.41, Fortescue to Anne, 7 January 1859.
[172] The Braddock Downs Plantations and their restoration are considered further in Min Wood, *Boconnoc: The Braddock Downs Plantations* (2017). CRO AD2531-AD2531/2.
[173] Loudon, John Claudius, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton* (London: Longman, 1840), 356. From, An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening. Part III 'Difference between Painting and Gardening'. Originally published in 1800.

Chapter 5. The Making of Landscapes; Inspiration, Opportunities and Constraints.

Grenville's interest in landscape gives an insight into the private character of one of the most important political figures of his day. It also sheds light on some of the realities of making and maintaining large landscapes at the end of the eighteenth-century, both at 'home' and on distant estates. It reveals also the very limited impact that the proponents of the Picturesque had on the decisions he made.

The Interpretation of Landscape

England owes much to able designers, but these, such as Bridgeman, Kent, Brown and Repton together contributed only a small part to the richness and diversity of the landscape as a whole. The broad fabric of the country is the product of a temperate climate and the geological underlay which supports its green mantle. Man's intervention has adapted that mantle either for agriculture, forestry and development, or through the interaction with nature by individuals for sporting or aesthetic pleasure. In the case of large estates all of these would have a part to play, and places in which to play it.

The essence of originality lies in the talents, experience and associations of individuals. Designers share that characteristic when acting for themselves, but when working for others, however, their freedom of expression is heavily confined by time and the contractual requirements of specification, quotation, implementation and completion,[1] not to mention budgets. These constraints preclude treating improvement as a process, and as a result their task becomes one of delivering a product, thus carrying their own set of associations from one place to another, however original their starting point may have been. The result is a degree of monotony in the designed landscapes of any period, as Pückler-Muskau observed about the English Landscape Garden;

> Many English parks are in fact nothing but interminable meadows serving as pastures for numerous herds, either of tame deer, sheep, cattle or horses, with a few picturesquely arranged trees. The first view of such noble spaces is imposing. One has the impression of a splendid picture, but it is the same picture and the impression therefore is always the same.[2]

It is the landscapes made by individuals at their own properties, over a period of time, in their own time, and to their own budgets, that best expresses their character and personalities. They are therefore of great interest. It is improvements arrived at in this way

that provide the relief from that monotony described by Pückler-Muskau, and make for a tapestry of contrasting styles of a kind that may be seen, by way of a few examples, at William Beckford's Fonthill, in Wiltshire,[3] William Shenstone's The Leasowes[4] in the West Midlands, Colonel Johnes's Hafod, in Wales,[5] and William Aislabie's Hackfall, in Yorkshire.[6] The Grenvilles engaged in just such a process at Dropmore and Boconnoc, as did Pückler-Muskau at Muskau and Branitz in Prussia and the Marquis de Giradin (1735 -1808) at Ermenonville, north of Paris, which was so loved by Rousseau, and where Rousseau died. The reference to these two Continental landscapes shows this process was not just peculiar to England.

Having Fun in the Landscape

It can be seen that the Grenvilles avoided the polarised positions of Repton, Payne Knight and Price, and consciously pursued their own path with a considerable degree of flexibility. It is quite evident that they did not think 'Modern Gardening' was fun, lacking as it did much visual interest or a pleasing interaction with nature.

In his *Sketches and Hints*, Repton attempted a list of those things which give pleasure in a landscape.[7] His sixteen categories should be read as factors which may impress a viewer rather than the driving forces in the making of improvements. He is particularly scathing about generating novelty 'Although a great source of pleasure, this is the most difficult and most dangerous for an artist to attempt; it is apt to lead him into conceits and whims, which lose their novelty after the first surprise.'[8] However as his career progressed, and he escaped entanglement in the Picturesque debate, he evidently had a change of heart. It is difficult to think of anything more novel than his (unexecuted) proposals in his *Red Book for The Royal Pavilion,Brighton* in 1806. [9] By 1814, in his *Red Book* for Endsleigh, in Devon, for the Duke of Bedford, his ideas teemed with novelty. This was designing for fun as well as effect.[10] It has been suggested that Repton, as his career continued, used more and more elaborate ornamental or themed planting, a style which became popular in the nineteenth century.[11]

On any view the Grenvilles got there first. When Repton was advising Pitt at Holwood in about 1791 he must have been well aware of what Grenville was attempting to do at Dropmore, although at that time Repton was still stuck with a the purist views expounded in *Sketches and Hints*. He did loosen up in his 1816 *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening,* accepting that 'If Houses were built only to be looked at, or looked from, the best Landscape-painter might be the best Landscape-gardener; but to render a place in all seasons comfortable, requires other considerations besides those of picturesque effect.'[12] In the *Red Book* for Endsleigh he wrote, 'I will, however, indulge the hope that the preceding

pages may not only be useful in improving the Scenery of Endsleigh, but in furnishing employment and amusement to it Noble Possessors for many years to come.'[13]

In his *Essays,* Grenville set out two of the planks that supported their interest in improvement, the enhancement of beauty and the generation of associations. Perhaps it was because of his self-effacing nature that he did not refers to a third, the pursuit of whimsy, so despised by Repton in 1794. At distant Boconnoc Grenville was driven by his passion for trees and the planting of them. As he wrote to Anne;

> I have marked I believe near three times as many single trees for planting, as I ever did in any former year. I am afraid we shall see the effects in Mr Bowen's account of cradle fences next year, but there is no resisting & the weather is so fine, & the place looks so beautiful, & one sees every where the want of more trees, & the success of those we have already planted, & which are far beyond my utmost expectations. [14]

Meanwhile, at home at Dropmore the couple introduced a succession of novel features in the gardens and grounds to keep themselves amused. The bold planting matched by the creation of curious forms of plant supports, the huge aviary, the winter conservatory which could be transformed into a summer pergola, the innovative pinetum which was to become the foremost in Europe with its elaborate entrance from the flower garden, memorials to dogs, the Evelyn gate from Huntercombe, bits of reused materials in the grotto, celebratory trees, the tent and the 'Chinese' tea pavilion, not to mention Grenville's pond making and his *coup de theatre,* the making of a root mound of a kind seen nowhere else. The series of drawings by Buckler made during Grenville's lifetime capture the exuberance of it all and speak for themselves, *see* Appendix 6. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, writing nearly 50 years after Grenville's death, shows how the elements put in place during Grenville's lifetime had continued to entrance and amuse:

> Groves that to every clime their birth may trace,
> A maze of flowers, where flowers become the place,
> Walks for each season, shades for every hour.
> Nature's wild growth, with chast'ning art combined,
> Enchain the senses and calm the mind.[15]

Loudon, reviewing what had been achieved at Dropmore, makes clear that novelty, something Repton began by seeing as a mistake in creating a landscape, was in fact the making of Dropmore. Having described the flower garden and the root mound he wrote;

> There is no greater evidence of attachment to a situation and a pursuit, than to be always doing and contriving something. Various plans of improvement are in progress at Dropmore, some of which relate to the more confined and artificial beauties near the

> house, and others to the pinetum, to a winding avenue of cedars, and to an extensive piece of ground laying out with water and rough banks, in imitation of wild scenery.[16]

It was this element of novelty that set Dropmore apart from other gardens made in the four decades of Grenville's ownership. That novelty sprang from the Grenvilles's imagination, a key ingredient in the making of any pioneering improvements. However, other factors played their part: the most significant of these being geography, geology and topography, prevailing agricultural and forestry practice, personality, wealth, personal taste, competing land uses, legal and other constraints, interests and inclinations, technical proficiency and the abilities of estate staff. This list of topics is, arguably, at least as useful in the understanding and interpretation of historic landscapes as that provided by Repton and they are dealt with in turn. To understand the forces that drove the making of any landscape is to add a significant layer of interest over the superficial question of visual appreciation.

Geography

Geography is an important factor in the way that estates are managed, and this was particularly so during a period when the ownership of properties dispersed all over the country was common; and travel so difficult. Whilst Dropmore was to become a true home for the Grenvilles, Boconnoc was only visited intermittently. Distance played a great part in this, as it had for Camelford earlier.[17] Using the modern road network, Boconnoc is 256 miles from London's Hyde Park Corner; Burnham, where Grenville made his home at Dropmore, just 24 miles.[18] In the eighteenth century, any travel across country was fraught with dangers. The relatively safe railway was not to reach Lostwithiel, the closest station to Boconnoc, until 1859. Even the arrangement of horses and coaches for travel from Dropmore to London would have to be carefully choreographed.[19] It seems extraordinary how contemporary travellers made light of these difficulties. William Gilpin, who quartered the country in search of the Picturesque, utters not one word on the subject and it was left to William Coombe to describe them in his satirical account of *The Tour of Dr Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*.[20] Syntax manages to fall foul of a great number of the hazards of travel, at which we may laugh heartily, but they were not so amusing in reality. Highwaymen plied their trade along byways and turnpikes, (fig. 104) while riding a horse or taking a carriage or coach were hazardous and, over long distances, uncomfortable. Deaths in coach accidents were common and accounted for, among others, James Wyatt, brother of Grenville's architect Samuel Wyatt, on the road over the Marlborough downs in 1813. Within the family, Richard Grenville-Temple, 2nd Earl

Temple, Grenville's great uncle, met his end in 1779 after a fall from his phaeton, a fast, and notoriously unstable vehicle, in his own grounds at Stowe.[21]

Figure 104; Dr Syntax Stopt By Highwaymen. Thomas Rowlandson. 1812. Wikimedia Commons.

Some improvements to the road system came with the Turnpike Trusts, the first of which was formed in 1707.[22] By 1761 turnpikes had extended from London to Lostwithiel, passing Braddock Down above Boconnoc.

Leaving aside the dangers and discomforts of travel, journey times to distant estates had a profound effect on both the patterns of visits and the way in which they were managed. For anyone involved in the Court, 'society', politics or trade it was essential to have some sort of place in 'Town'. But the great cities were, what Thomas Coutts described to Grenville as 'disgustful',[23] and in addition to a town house of some sort it was useful to have a 'country' house within close reach of London. The spread of wealth from the landed to a mercantile class and social conventions such as the 'Season' after which the better-off would leave the larger cities increased the pressure to find a country estate somewhere. The dilemma which this posed for the possessor of a distant country estate were described by Camelford in a letter to Forster, when he explained the decisions he has made about the family residences;

> People in Cornwall & [William] Pennington [with whom he had travelled to Rome] and Mrs Morshead at the head of them will make an outcry & suppose I mean a total abandonment of B—c – that is not the case. When I am rich enough and stout enough to encounter a Cornish expedition I shall be always be too happy to spend my Autumns there, but I must have a resource nearer London for all my infirmities, for my Children's education & and a hundred other ties which bind me more & more to this part of the World. Time was when 500 miles was a party of pleasure , & when Boconnoc included in it everything. *Non sum qualis eram.*[24] in more respects than one, & I must endeavour to shape myself to my circumstances. Add to all this B—c has been growing into a stile

> of expence that overpowers one, it is no longer the retreat of ease and carelessness, it is politics gossipry & representation. When I was less important there & less magnificent I was more happy. My fortune is an improving one & when a certain event happens,[25] I may be equal to the three objects of London, Petersham & Cornwall, in the meantime I must confine my expences to the two first upon the most frugal plan. I feel myself indeed unequal to the expence of Petersham but I have yielded to the temptation to secure to myself a future advantage which if I repent of it will always be in my power to get rid of, when I purchase for less than £8,000 what certainly has cost £40,000 & what never was valued at less than £30,000. It stands in the midst of everything that is gay and splendid yet it is so entirely shut up within itself that not an eye looks in upon it. – it has extent of old timber wood enough to tire my old legs without going out of my own path, whilst it commands peeps & snatches of the great prospect in the gloom of the finest forest scenes – This you must own with the advantage of a noble House is no small temptation at an hour's drive from London & all its bustle. In short I promise myself that it will be the comfort of my old age & as such I am willing to put myself to almost any present inconvenience rather than let it slip out of my hands for ever. [26]

It is difficult to establish a precise measure of the journey time from London to Boconnoc and vice-versa before the coming of the railway. Travel by sea from Fowey or Plymouth, suitable for the transport of such things as marble,[27] or pebbles,[28] to be used at Dropmore could take days, or even weeks if the winds were unfavourable. Even by the end of the 18th century the overland journey would generally take several days and involve a number of stops on the way. When time was not of the essence, travellers would take time to visit the estates of friends and relations on the way, as did Grenville on his visits to his sister at Castle Hill and his own property at Blandford St Mary. The logistics for visits were further complicated by distance with luggage and other goods being carried on slower, cheaper public carriers. Mrs Gilbert of Bodmin Priory wrote to Anne:

> Mr Gilbert has not failed to desire Mr Rhind to get everything in as good order as possible against your Ladyship and Lord Grenville's arrival. May I take the liberty to remind you that a small quantity of stores should be ordered some weeks before you set out, by waggon, otherwise I fear Ld Grenville will fail of his coffee.[29]

Surprise visitors to a house 'shut up' by the family caused endless problems for staff, as was reported to Anne by Mrs Gilbert when Thomas, in his casual way, offered Boconnoc to his much loved and somewhat fiery cousin Hester in 1801;

> I have just been applied to by Lord Camelford [Thomas] & Hooper about an order to receive at Boconnoc Lady Hester Stanhope & a party: they leave orders to kill a buck. – but have no wine & no servants Beard being ordered to attend his Lordship in London & … as no time is fixed for their arrival it is out of our power to assist in entertaining them.[30]

It was also necessary to make practical arrangements for the day-to-day management of distant estates, making sure, in particular, that the taste and preferences of the owner were followed by agents and stewards. Their frustrations about the latter are clear from the Grenvilles' letters, *see* Appendix 2. Local staff could never have the same moral authority over tenants and the local community as that enjoyed by a resident landowner. The Governor, Camelford and the Grenvilles all found dealing with Cornish people at a distance a considerable challenge. Tenants regularly fell into arrears with all sorts of explanations being advanced, and often failed properly to look after the properties they rented or leased.[31]

Grenville and Anne knew Boconnoc intimately, and had remarkably retentive memories, so that Bowen and other staff were able to refer to specific trees or areas for planting in their correspondence, confident that they would have a picture of them in mind.[32] Added to this Bowen was able to produce the detailed maps and drawings of the kind referred to in Chapter 4. The post was remarkably efficient, though expensive,[33] so answers could be given to queries from staff at Boconnoc within a matter of days. Usually Grenville was able to send a reply within 7 days but when pressed, or enraged, he could post a reply within 3 days.[34] Bulky documents were sent with the game basket which was regularly dispatched from Boconnoc in season to London and to Dropmore. It is not surprising that the mere fact of distance was, in the eighteenth century, an important factor in the way that estates were used and managed, and therefore the kind of improvements that could be contemplated.

Geology

Another factor of distance was the change in geology and topography as travellers from London and the Home Counties crossed the Tees/Exe line. This is an imaginary line drawn diagonally across England between the estuaries of those rivers. To the south-east of the line the landform is generally derived from soft rocks, clay, chalk and sand, that to the north-west is generally derived from harder rocks. The south-eastern part is often referred to as being a subdued landscape, but to the north-west the landscape becomes more varied, rugged and intricate. These are of course generalisations and in both parts there are local areas which have the general characteristics of the landscapes of the other. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the adjective 'subdued' as being 'reduced in intensity, strength, or vividness; lacking vibrancy; restrained; toned down; quiet'.[35] It is not surprising therefore that the skills of the designer are most in demand in such areas in order to supply a degree of interest which Nature has neglected to provide. A map shows the position of the Tees/Exe line and plotted on it are sites

where Lancelot Brown was asked to advise. It may be seen that these are generally on areas with ‘subdued’ landscapes. (fig. 105)

Figure 105; Copy of the interactive map of the sites where Brown has been confirmed to have advised (black pins), with the Tees Exe Line shown in black. © CB300.

There are of course exceptions. Brown did work in Herefordshire and on the Cheshire Plain, while Repton was engaged at Antony, Port Eliot and Pentillie in Cornwall, and Endsleigh in Devon, but all of those are in more subdued parts of the landscape found west of the line.

A general conclusion can be drawn that where nature has been generous there is likely to be an appreciation of the beauties that she has bestowed without much interference. When natural beauty is lacking, or just plain absent, arts must be imposed on the landscape to make anything of it. Boconnoc is an example of the first, Dropmore the second. In his *Historic Gardens of Cornwall*, writing of Boconnoc, Timothy Mowl suggested that if Brown or Repton had got their hands ‘on that promising but tangled countryside they could have worked wonders’.[36] Camelford, Grenville and Fortescue, in turn made sure that those two designers and their imitators would never have that opportunity at Boconnoc.

Distance and Visual Appreciation

Ever since the introduction of perspective in western art painters developed the idea of there being three 'distances' of importance; the near-ground, the middle distance and the long view to the horizon. Some argue that the recognition of this found its greatest flowering in the work of Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), and the theme was taken up by Gilpin in his essays.[37] Repton reworked the idea in terms of landscape gardening in a rather different way, adding an important constraint; the degree of control which could be exercised over land affecting the setting of the core of an estate;

> By Landscape I mean a view capable of being represented in painting. It consists of two, three or more, well marked distances, each separated from the other by an unseen space, which the imagination delights to fill up with fancied beauties, that may not perhaps exist in reality. …The landscape painter considers all these three distances as objects equally within the power of his art. … The subjects of the landscape gardener are very different; though his scenery requires, also, to be broken into distinct parts or distances, because the eye is never long delighted , unless the imagination has some share in its pleasure: an intricacy and entanglement of parts heightens the satisfaction.
>
> The landscape gardener may also class his distances under three distinct characters, but very different to those of the painter. The first includes, that part of the scene which it is in his power to improve; the second, that which is not in his power to prevent being injured; and the third, that which is not in the power of himself, or any other, either to injure or improve: of this last kind, is the distant line of the horizon in the views from Holwood. The part which the painter calls his middle distance, is often that which the landscape gardener finds under the control of others; and the foreground of the painter can seldom be introduced into the composition of the gardener's landscape, from the whole front of an house, because the best landscapes of Claude will be found to owe their beauty to that kind of foreground , which could only be applied to one particular window of an house, and would exclude all view from that adjoining.[38]

Topography

The topographies of Dropmore and of Boconnoc are very different. The effect of this is effectively to remove the middle ground in the prospect from Dropmore House. The land falls by 5 metres from Heathfield Road north of the House across the gardens to the Root Mound, then falls rapidly away from 90 metres AOD[39] at Cabrook, from 65 metres at the Lambourne Golf Club House to 25 metres on the valley floor. The effect of this steep gradient in concealing the middle ground was compounded by the tree cover south of the house even when Grenville was alive. From the Root Mound, the most favourable viewpoint, it is the prospect to Eton and Windsor and the even more distant Hog's Back that is of significance. The ornamental shrub planting below the Root Mound described by EVB at the end of the century was to be in the foreground not the middle distance, 'looking across a foreground

flaming with rhododendron – where one great flowing camellia stands apart in the whiteness of its beauty'.[40] There was an open area on the downward slope below the Root Mound, seen in the frontispiece to Grenville's *Essays* (fig. 106), but this would not have been suitable for any kind of 'parkland' planting and in any event played its part in giving an uninterrupted view of the prospect. To the east, Burnham Beeches was not in view of the immediate gardens and would only have been seen from the Root Mound after Grenville opened up a view.

Figure 106; Windsor &c from below the Gravel Mount as illustrated in *Dropmore*. © British Library.

The immediate foreground would later be planted with flowering shrubs, but the middle ground remained open.

The Grenvillles could have laid out the ground to the west between the house and Cliveden with ornamental plantations, despite the difficulties of achieving a satisfactory effect on level ground, but they did not do so for good reasons. There was existing tree cover between Dropmore and Cliveden and they were developing the domestic offices of the house and kitchen garden in that direction. Both these factors would have stood in the way of views to any park like landscape treatment. The couple had also, on acquiring the property, to plant out views to the west and toward the cottage they did not then control.[41] Added to this, the very poor quality of the soil, the gravel and the peat would have prevented the establishment of

sufficiently good grassland, a crucial ingredient in creating park-like settings. It was however good enough for the establishment of the pinetum and shrubs which would contribute to blocking views to the west.

Boconnoc House stands at 65 metres AOD in a bowl barely 1km in radius, with the Obelisk hill rising behind the house to 136 metres, Dawna to 105 metres, to the south Polpiece standing at 75 metres and the Deer Park at Heronshill rising to 95 metres. To all of these figures for surrounding ground must be added the height of tree cover which is substantial on all sides. There is no more than a glimpsed view of hills to the south, through the narrow valley of the Lerryn, and this is of little interest. (fig. 107) However, it is bowls of this kind which give the best possible framework for improving the landscape of the middle ground, allowing the shapes of plantations on the surrounding higher ground to be appreciated.

Figure 107; Views from Boconnoc House and Grounds are limited by the surrounding hills. 2018. © Author.

In addition to the outlines of plantations on that higher, and often steeper, ground, sporadic planting of trees on the Lawns added interest. This planting began under Camelford to the northern side of the Lawns, and subsequently under Grenville and thereafter the Fortescues, extended southward over the years. This can be seen from the written accounts of Camelford and Grenville, and from Louisa Fortescue's photograph album that shows younger trees to the south of the Lawns. (fig. 108) There would be a few larger groups of trees, but for the main part they were planted singly or in groups of up to five and included Scots Pine, both the Pedunculate and Sessile Oak, Sweet Chestnut, Beech and Lime.

Figure 108; From Louisa Fortescue's Photograph Album, showing the southern parts of the Lawns with a number of younger trees. C. 1870 – 1875. 115M88_P27. © Hampshire Record

A cultivar which was put to particularly good use on the Lawns was the Lucombe Oak, *Quercus* x *hispanica* 'Lucombeana'.[42] (fig. 109) This fine, wide-spreading tree, a selected clone of a cross between the Turkey Oak, *Q. cerris* and the Cork Oak *Q. suber*, has a semi-evergreen habit, contrasting with the bare branches of the purely deciduous species. Its introduction by Lucombe's nursery in Exeter coincided with Camelford's first phase of improvements between 1762 and 1770, and it is likely that he would have been the first to plant them at Boconnoc. By 1813 Anne was asking Grenville to make sure cuttings were taken from them, *see* Appendix 2, implying that by then some were well established. The use of them confirms Grenville's grasp of selecting trees to suit particular sites, as he had done with the conifers at Dropmore.

Figure 109; A Lucombe Oak on the Lawns at Boconnoc 25th December 2014 © Author

Agricultural and Forestry Practices

Agricultural and forestry practices exert strong influences on landscape improvement. Rackham and, more recently Phibbs and Laird, are amongst those who have given attention to this subject.[43] Leaving aside the question of whether arable farming or dairying could be carried on in the grounds of a large country house, grazing and haymaking were the key to meeting energy needs in the eighteenth century. It was the horse that provided the motive

power for everything from arable farming to transport.[44] The importance of a good hay harvest was such that the family would often join in with their employees, at least symbolically, in turning the scythed grass as it lay waiting to dry. There is therefore a direct relationship between the need for extensive areas of 'lawns',[45] and the layout of tree planting within them.

At Boconnoc, the Lawns extended over the whole of the fertile and relatively level land between the ha-ha adjacent to the Obelisk Hill and the Lerryn and between Boconnoc House and Penvose. This was the best land in the parish and had been in agricultural use since time immemorial. As has been seen, Camelford and then Grenville thought the Lawns too bare of trees and planted progressively within them, to be followed in due course by Fortescue. This was done in a way that did not compromise their primary purpose; to provide grazing and forage, which they do to this day. The situation at Dropmore was quite different, where the poor gravelly and peaty ground close to the House was quite unsuitable for the cultivation of grass, and so Grenville's other passion, that for planting trees, took precedence. Agricultural activity took place further down the slope toward the valley floor at Brook End and to a lesser extent Cabrook, some way from the House where there was more fertile ground.[46] At Dropmore, Grenville was sufficiently engaged in farm management of the 200 odd acres-in-hand to wrestle with the challenge of applying a three-course rotation of crops, what he called the Rule of Thirds, with six different components to the irregular fields of his farm.[47]

At both estates the 'look' of the tree cover flowed as much as anything from forestry practices of the time. The day of blanket planting of conifers had not yet arrived. Where they were planted in England they were principally used as 'nurse' crops, as urged on Grenville by Buckingham;

> You positively forbid the whole tribe of firs, or I could have increased my bundle with them. But I take it for granted that you do not proscribe them in your plantation, because, in the very shallow soil of your hill the Scot fir - larch and stone-pine will be your best friends, and will nurse the birch and beech to which you must trust.[48]

The emphasis was on achieving continuous cover in woodland by the selective felling of trees or felling in small coupes, [CCF] rather than clear felling of larger areas, as explained in Chapter 4. The remaining pattern of planting, intermixing Scots Pine with broadleaved species, at Strawberry Piece on Braddock Down exemplifies this practice, and how, by means of it, landscapes with a relatively unchanging nature could be maintained. At that time, the cutting and conversion of trees was done by manual labour, as mechanical sawmills did not appear in significant numbers in England until the nineteenth century,[49] and even where they existed they were fixed installations, tied to the source of power, to which timber had to be brought by

horse power. In addition, the demand for woodland produce was much more varied than today, and included not only timber but also bark, with which to produce such items as tool handles, bavins,[50] faggots,[51] bark for tanners, thatching spars, staves for casks, mining timbers, cleft railings and other fencing materials. Taken together, the manual work by the woodman and the great variety of woodland stuffs allowed for a selective approach to woodland management of the kind reflected in Gainsborough's *Cornard Wood*. (fig. 110)

Figure 110; The bundling of small woodland produce, detail from *Cornard Wood*, near Sudbury. Thomas Gainsborough 1748, © National Gallery.

In addition to the Scots Pine, Larch and Stone Pine, Pinaster Pines (*Pinus pinaster)* with their rugged appearance were also pressed into service at Boconnoc early on to deal with areas of particularly poor soil; these were planted as a plantation with a higher density of conifers on the eastern side of the Obelisk Hill out of sight of the House. The other 'maritime' pine, The Monterey Pine (*Pinus radiata)*, suitable for planting in exposed positions, and which now forms such a strong background to the Shrubbery, was not then available to Grenville, only being introduced into England in 1831.

Personality

That Grenville was not rewarded by elevation to the rank of Viscount or Earl, as any others with his record in government could expect, was due to his own humility. The fact both Ackerman in his title to his 1820 view of the garden front at Dropmore, John Lindley in *Edward's Botanical Register* of 1829 and Loudon, in editing *The Gardener's Magazine* of 1832, should refer to Dropmore as being the seat of Earl Grenville suggests that in popular imagination he should have been so honoured. His desire for privacy and the enjoyment of nature as an antidote to public office had, Jupp suggests, an adverse effect on the success of his political career. From the seclusion of his study he developed ideas of political philosophy

including those about finance, free trade, slavery and religious toleration which were ahead of the general consensus of his time. Books and pamphlets were for him a window to a deeper insight into the proper objectives of government. Yet, largely confined to London, Oxford and his estates in Buckinghamshire and Cornwall he never developed a real understanding of social conditions of the day as they were experienced across the country as a whole.[52] Although he was always considerate in his personal dealings, and merciful, if icy, when advising the King, as Home Secretary, on the use of the Royal Prerogative.[53] Putting the nation as a political abstract at the head of his political priorities led him, in an apparent paradox, to support harsh policies toward the public at large notably in his support for the suspension of *Habeas Corpus* to deal with public unrest in 1817, the year of the 'Peterloo Massacre'..

To the end of his life he believed that the government of the country should rest in the hands of the Landed Classes and the Church.[54] His seclusion in the countryside meant he did not develop the social skills essential to a great political leader. 2nd Earl Grey (1764 – 1845) writing to his wife, recalled two meetings of the Opposition leadership in 1808 one at Lord Grenville's House and one at Holland House during which he sat through dinner on both occasions 'with his usual silence'. [55] Had Grenville 'got out more' or learned to sparkle in fashionable drawing rooms he might have had a better feel for sentiment in the country and made a better shift of political leadership. In the event Grenville appears to have been perfectly content that he should be as he was, and it may well be that, during those dinners in 1808, he had his improvements at Dropmore and Boconnoc more in mind than the politics being discussed.

At Dropmore and Boconnoc Grenville would spend happy hours, walking, driving, and, after his strokes, being taken in his wheelchair, to see what could be done, but he always returned to his desk, [56] to write notes and letters to both staff and friends and the drafts for the *Journal of the Tour to South Wales* and his *Essays*. He would also tinker with poetry about Dropmore in both Latin and English. His improvements, other than the usual day-to-day progress in the gardens and the woods, took place in bursts of enthusiasm of the kind that first led him to settle on Dropmore Hill as a place about which to build a substantial estate. The moments of greatest activity were when out of office, and before his first stroke.

It is one thing to be able to concentrate on one question at a time but dealing with great detail requires extraordinary patience. Despite his protestation to Anne, 'You know I have a power & command of myself for matters of real importance that I have not for those that are less so',[57] Grenville showed himself to be a master of detail, literally standing over Bowen in 1813 demanding that the accounts should be put in good order. Not only would he receive

reports from lawyers and agents about general matters, but also from fairly lowly staff such as Pond, who had charge of the nursery and woodlands at Boconnoc, and Rhind, the gardener, who would send monthly reports to Grenville itemising what had been done and raising questions for his decision. Whether it was the terms of a lease, purchases of land, the settling of boundaries, specifying the steps to be taken in establishing plantations, the Christmas gifts of meat to the local communities, the management of the deer, the keeping and replacement of horses, Grenville's beady eye watched over all, even when, as Prime Minister, he was living in 10 Downing Street.

Grenville's observation in his *Essays* that we tend to think of made landscapes in the context of the buildings they grace has been considered in Chapter 2. The personality of an owner is expressed as much by that built fabric as the way in which they set out any planting. Historic England categorise Dropmore House as being of a Classical style as are several of the garden structures. With the emphasis that Grenville puts on the Classics in the *Essays* this is not to be surprised at. However, these are not in the grand manner of the houses of his siblings, nor indeed of those at neighbouring Hedsor and Cliveden, with their royal connections, conspicuously perched in positions overlooking the Thames. (fig. 111)

Figure 111; Left, Cliveden. Goadby. 1776. Right, Hedsor. Tombelson.1840.
Cliveden was destroyed by fire in 1795, Hedsor was also badly damaged by fire in the same year. The prints are shown to illustrate position rather than architectural style.

He did not follow the enthusiastic eccentricity of his close friend Scrope Bernard in the Strawberry Hill Gothick remodelling of Nether Winchendon House, Buckinghamshire between 1790 and 1805, nor the grandeur of another close friend, Lord Wellesley, who was planning the Governor General's House at Barrackpore, India, broadly concurrent with Grenville's early work at Dropmore. (fig. 112)

Figure 112; Left, Nether Winchendon House (Bernard). 2011. ©.Author. Right the Governor General's House Barrackpore (Wellesley). Edward Hawke Locker. 1808 © British Library.

Grenville shied away from the most fashionable architects of the day, appointing the modest Samuel Wyatt and later Charles Tatham as architects when he might have looked to James Wyatt (1746-1813), John Nash (1752-1835) or John Soane (1753-1837), the latter having been a protégé of Camelford, so also he steered well clear of the fashionable landscape architects of the day. There was a stucco finish to Dropmore House, as with Boconnoc, rather than the mellow stone of Stowe or the elegant brickwork of Wotton. Dropmore is rather plain, and any grandeur in the architecture is, on the south front, blunted by the veranda and pergolas with their covering of climbing plants. Although large enough to accommodate the household to be expected of a person in his position, it sits modestly on its site, strongly reflecting Grenville's character. Loudon described it as being 'simple, spacious and elegant'.[58] Although Samuel Wyatt was less flamboyant and versatile in his architecture than his brother James, he was more than capable of building a grand house when required. Examples of these are Tatton Park, Cheshire, and Digswell House, Hertfordshire and Trinity House on Tower Hill, London.[59] The character of Dropmore House must therefore be seen as a product of Grenville's instructions, and an expression of his personality rather than Wyatt's own inspiration. When first built, the house must have appeared relatively ostentatious seen from the roads which then ran close by it, but, on the diversion of those, Grenville was quick to plant up the land to the north of the house so largely concealing it from public view.

Only one of the garden buildings at Dropmore could be said to match the quality of structures seen at Stowe or Stourhead, and that was the Loggia at the eastern end of the Italian Garden. Buckler had drawn a Loggia and Pavilion for the Italian Garden in 1825, but these would appear to have been unexecuted. This, and the rest of the Italian features within the walled garden probably postdate the death of Grenville, first appearing in Buckler sketches in 1840. Otherwise the garden buildings are a rag tag mixture of associative or functional structures some cobbled up in a way that would impress a theatrical designer. (fig. 113) The

garden lodges were simply made in brick and slate with appliqué wooden columns, entablature and pediment to give a classical impression. The Grotto used recycled materials and broken concrete, and for its entrance arch, allegedly, stone from the first phase of the demolition of Old London Bridge.[60] The Root Mound, as the name suggests, was formed of gravel supporting recycled tree roots with a simple covered wooden seat on its summit.

Figure 113; One of the re-configured Garden Lodge frontages in disrepair. 2013. © Buckinghamshire Gardens Trust.

It must be open to question whether, without Anne, Grenville would have been able to establish such a contented home life, create Dropmore or have participated so fully in landscape improvements in the way he did at Boconnoc. It is difficult to see how he would have found a wife with such a complementary set of skills to his own. She had travelled where he had not, she became an heiress while he depended largely on support from public funds, she could charm drawing rooms as he could not. It is noteworthy that unlike his great uncle, Chatham, his cousin Hester or his brother Tom, he played little or no part in improvements on the properties of other people. He busied himself with the private world he and Anne had created together. From time to time when he was under extreme pressure or was having a bout of illness or having difficulty with his eyesight, Anne would take over as correspondent, and it was to her that tenants would sometimes turn if complaints to agents were not dealt with.[61]

No relationship, however close, escapes moments of tension. There was a misunderstanding between them about work done in the grounds at Dropmore, possibly in 1822, when Anne must have been there to see the work which upset her and made her sufficiently cross to have a written note taken to Grenville. Although that note has not survived, the resulting reply from Grenville gives a refreshing glimpse into what otherwise appears to have been an altogether perfect marriage, and, more importantly, it reveals the way

in which they worked together. It must have been a serious row for him to feel he should write to her in this way;

> Your letter could not but be painful to me, but I answer it with the most perfect good humour & warmest affection. With respect of the thinning at Cavebrook (especially in any part of the outline of the wood) so very little has been done or ordered to be done by me that I hardly know to what you refer. When you were last upon that ground you expressed to me some regret that one bush had been cut. It was I believe a part of the old hedge, & stood close before another & better bush, which is likely very soon to supply its place. It was Ridgwell [gardener] I believe who suggested to me that it ought to be cut, & I thought this so clear as to admit of no doubt. If you think, or would have thought, otherwise, I heartily wish the bush was now standing there. With this single exception I am not aware that (at least as far as I am concerned) one twig has been altered in the whole outline from the octagon down to the bottom, to make it different from what you had yourself directed & approved. I have not once touched it since (in 10 years as I remember) having always thought that its present line must be changed, but that the change could not be made until it was decided in the spring how much should be left or taken away of the long line of oak hedge which now really forms the strait boundary of which you complain.
> This is surely a longer explanation than was necessary between you & me, about a bit of an old hedge; but I was anxious to state the fact to you such as it is, or at least as I most confidently believe it to be.
> As to our drives, I have always, for a little less than 40 years, directed both our walks & drives, as far as depended on me, to the spot wherever it was, when any walks were carrying on for me, that I might have the benefit of your judgement upon them, & that they might equally afford to both of us occupation & amusement.
> But when we are together, where you may wish to go (if you will apprize me of it) then certainly our horses heads will be directed. If you drive with me today my own wish certainly was to have gone to the octagon, that I might talk with you about an idea that I had of planting a few oaks of moderate size on the highest ground between that building & Cavebrook wood, for this very purpose of getting a more varied outline there. But do not think of the carriage if it will be at all too cold for you.[62]

In addition to confirming their continuing interest in the outlines of features in the landscape (rather than Price's 'pictures') the note carries the key phrase. 'they might equally afford to both of us occupation and amusement'. It is what may occupy and amuse an owner which dictates the final shape of any made landscape, designer or no designer.

Before Grenville ever contemplated the making of Dropmore, Boconnoc had become an important feature in his life. His friendship with Camelford introduced him to a landscape of exceptional beauty and one which could be enjoyed for its sequestered peace. His feelings for the place were expressed in letters to Anne in which he looked forward with horror to the prospect of entertaining the Prince of Orange there in 1813.[63] The passages reveal how much he liked the 'romantic beauties' of Boconnoc and his annoyance at his peace there being disturbed;

> I am threatened with an invasion from the Prince of Orange, who comes to Plymouth with his son tomorrow to see him embark for Spain…… I do not think he will care much for the romantic beauties of our own little valleys & brooks.[64]
> It seems likely that we shall have our oranges here tomorrow – whether the green one [son] as well as the ripe one [father] I do not make out nor do I much care.[65]
> I am of course …. as you may suppose not a little relieved. The little orange is gone off to Spain with dispatches, & the great one is gone back to town on the news of Bernadotte's victories.[66]

Similarly, he had no great appetite for royal visits to Dropmore, although it became a destination for royalty on drives out from Windsor. He wrote to Anne from Boconnoc;

> We are told the Queen says she could not have been better received at Dropmore had we been there. This I observe is rather an equivocal compliment, & as her Majesty's visit was certainly more agreeable to me in my absence I may not unreasonably suppose the feeling reciprocal. We must however take the complement as they say a Frenchman does in its best sense.[67]

Jonathan Swift's attack on politicians was, perhaps surprisingly, one to be echoed in due course by Camelford, Grenville and Fortescue;

> And he gave it for his opinion, "that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together."[68]

Each of them made a significant contribution to politics, turned their backs on any further direct involvement and found greater satisfaction in working in the landscape.[69] So far as Grenville is concerned he remains more celebrated today, if at all, for the creation of Dropmore and the improvements at Boconnoc than for his very considerable political achievements. Swift's satirical observation pits the value of politicians to the country against the achievements of who could improve the state of agriculture: this latter might reasonably be extended to improvements in the landscape, and Grenville was adept at both.

Wealth

The creation of substantial made landscapes devours a great deal of money, something of which Grenville was only too painfully aware, not just from his own experience but through watching the financial difficulties that beset his brother, and later his nephew, at Stowe.[70] With sufficient resources a fine landscape can be conjured out of the most unpromising swamp, as was demonstrated by Louis XIV at Versailles, but even Louis fell short of funds when pursuing his other obsession, making war.[71] The Grenville family, before their entry into

politics, were little more than well-off landed gentry, and as a family, made themselves largely reliant on sinecures. In his life of Chatham, Lord Roseberry wrote:

> Never, indeed, was a family so well provided for during an entire century as the Temple-Grenvilles. … Cobbett reckoned from returns furnished to the House of Commons that Lord Buckingham and his brother Thomas, the sons of George Grenville, had in half a century drawn £700,000 of public money, and William, another brother, something like £200,000 more. These figures are open to dispute, but they indicate at least that the revenues from public money of this family of sinecurists must have been enormous. Of English families the Grenvilles were in this particular line easily he first. Had all sinecurists, it may be said, in passing, spent their money like the younger, Thomas, who returned far more than he received by bequeathing his matchless library to the nation, the public conscience would have been much more tender towards them. [72]

On the death of Pitt in 1806 James Gillray satirised the general concern that the system of sinecures was sapping the public finances, as seen in his plate 'More Pigs than Teats'.[73] The British Museum catalogue associates its copy of the cartoon with Grenville and 27 other politicians.[74] (fig. 114)

Figure 114; 'More Pigs Than Teats' James Gillray, 1806. © British Library.

However, Grenville's sister Charlotte, Lady Williams Wynn, explained the reliance of public figures on the sinecures in a letter to her son Charles and her daughter in law;

> I am sure we have had but too many examples lately of the sacrifices which is made by those who do devote themselves to public life, & of the necessity of their being unabled to with draw from it before they are quite exhausted by the peculiarly severe labour both of body & mind now attached to it. That Lord Grenville [here Grenville] was enabled to retire from it when he did, I cannot be sufficiently thankful for, as I really believe he must have sunk under it very soon, but according to the present system, He

> would not, supposing that Lady Grenville's ! situation had continued as it was when he married her, have had where withall to have done so.[75]

As Rosebery points out huge sums also came to the family as a whole by inheritance. Richard Temple, 1st Lord Cobham and Anne Halsey his wife, a brewer's daughter, Bubb Dodington, the Nugents and the Duke of Chandos, all, directly or indirectly, contributed to the family coffers. However, none of this rained down on Grenville. Inherited wealth was distributed by way of primogeniture and Grenville was too far down the Grenville line to qualify for that, although his wealthier relations did ease his way into Parliament and secure his first appointments. Had he not married Anne, and had Thomas not risked a duel with the best marksman of his day, there would have been no Boconnoc in his life and he would have been confined to a much more modest home than that which Dropmore became. With Dropmore consuming a great deal of money, both for improvement and expansion, and with Boconnoc yielding little, it was only by selling other Pitt properties that he managed to keep his finances afloat. Anne's inheritance would seem to have been substantial, and so it was in terms of acreage. However, particularly in the years 1808 to 1820 when Grenville was undertaking many of his most significant landscape improvements and carrying the expense of fitting Dropmore up with its marble hall and Comolli busts of family and associates, this would give little promise of a steady income. He wrote to Anne from Boconnoc on the 9th October 1813;

> The whole rent that Bowen receives [from the Boconnoc estates] falls short of £4000 & we have this year spent more than that sum at this place – so that in fact we stand not quite so well as if you had no other property in Cornwall but the clay mine. I am sure you will agree with me in the necessity of putting an end to this state of things. Yet it is not easy to do. Very difficult in the detail, tho' in the gross the necessity of it is but too apparent.[76]

The position was no different on the Dorset Estates. Sharman reported in October 1811;

> The remaining rents I will endeavour to get in before we go from here, but I fear of doing it as the Tenants generally speaking are poor notwithstanding the cheapness of their farms, but I find had they them for nothing it would not do without you cultivates etc it for them, but one fact is, they do not vend the arable produce until the spring, not taking the corn from the mows until they have had the March winds blow through them.[77]

It was not as though the Grenvilles were keeping up an extravagant household in Cornwall, as they lived frugally there on their visits, or that the Estate was particularly badly managed; the lack of income in the landed classes was being felt across the country as the Napoleonic Wars reached their end. Grenville had a particularly close relationship with his banker Thomas

Coutts who, in some respects, also acted as his personal adviser in financial matters and was apt to feed in general observations on the state of the economy when dealing with his private account. On 11th September 1811 Coutts wrote:

> The extraordinary alteration in the situation commerce and expences of this Country has produced a considerable change on the business I carry on - People are forced upon schemes of enlarging their incomes & upon employing all money that formerly lay at their bankers - above all we are distressed by a great number of people over-drawing on their bankers , which however improper we have sometimes felt uneasy to check - but it has grown so fast we have at last been obliged to take measures to stop, as if it were to become very general the business would exist no more, as bankers make no charge for Agency or Commission as merchants do - Their advantage arising from the aggregate of a great number of accounts with some balance (sometimes more, sometimes less) on every one. This your Lordship will clearly understand - and must see how reasonable it is for Bankers to remonstrate with their Friends on the impropriety of overdrawing.
> Your Lordship's account is at this time over-drawn £1432 - 13 - 2 which I hope you will soon reimburse, & I flatter myself you will take some measures to prevent future overdrafts, or the practice of overdrawing as besides destroying our business it is really very inconvenient in the daily transactions of it and disturbs the regularity so essentially needful.[78]

And on the 22 December 1815 he again wrote:

> The stagnation of The Agricultural Operations - operates to draw from our hands almost all the balances of almost every account in that line & at the same time brings every day applications from innumerable persons many of whom never before stood in need of any such aid, & now fly to us for help till some alteration in taxes & other measures of Government may operate to bring things back to their former regularity. ….. the unlooked for distress in The Agricultural line all over the Kingdom …. has produced a general a want of confidence & such fears as to the consequences of what may follow - That we must submit to wait quietly for the result, sorry as we must be too decline giving the assistance we would wish, till the prospect brightens & the means returns of which we are now deprived & and indeed puts it out of our power for the present.[79]

The assistance Grenville sought was the need to meet one of his late brother-in-law's debts which had unexpectedly come to light. Grenville had written to Coutts on the 20th December explaining this:

> Among the many imprudences of my late Brother in Law, he had engaged in a partnership of Horse racing concerns with a Mr Whaley, a gentleman of the turf. Some short time before his death that partnership was dissolved, but the accounts were never settled. The papers remained sealed up in a box found among his effects of which (from the solicitude he had once expressed on the subject) I judged it improper to open in Mr Whaley's absence. In the meantime that gentlemen was detained a Prisoner in France & although I occasionally received a letter to keep his claim its amount was never stated , nor had I any knowledge of the particulars, tho' there were some circumstances which led me to conclude (very erroneously as it turns out) that no

> demand could be established to any amount which could cause me the least inconvenience.[80]

Grenville's solicitors had advised him that there was an enforceable debt of £7700 of which £3300 was interest. Waley offered to take just the interest for the moment and the rest when it might suit Grenville's convenience; Grenville, however, did not want to be beholden in this way to this man and decided to pay the whole amount off there and then, for which he needed an overdraft of £3000. Fortunately, having reflected over Christmas, Coutts wrote on the 29th December, in his own hand; 'I really cannot bear the pain of mind I suffer not agreeing to the trifle you desired - & so I write to say you may command the Three Thousand Pounds you wanted on any footing the most convenient to yourself.'[81]

The net effect of this was that Grenville, having found himself overdrawn in 1811 and by 1813 with no significant income from Boconnoc, suddenly faced this unexpected expense and the costs of making roads and traditional Cornish earth banks required under the Inclosure Act. Furthermore in September 1811 he calculated that £1815 would be necessary to pay the Boconnoc Estate bills at Christmas time. He told Bowen that it was impossible for him to authorise drafts which he could not answer for.[82]Yet in 1811 he was negotiating for the purchase of the reversion of the East Burnham Estate, valued by Claridge and Iveson as £42840,[83]to add to the significant investment in land he had already made in the Hitcham Estate, put by Packe at £20000.[84] Grenville found the answer in the sale of the Dorset estates, having already raised 5000 guineas from the sale of land at Clifton in 1807.[85] The matter had become urgent, as Grenville told Bowen in a letter: 'I have an offer of a very desirable property in this neighbourhood [East Burnham]…I have authorised the person who treats for me to go to £40,000… I shall have no other means of making the purchase good than by selling in Dorsetshire.'[86]

Bowen and Sharman were duly sent up to Blandford to test the market. Although in 1810 Sharman had what appears to have been a nervous breakdown,[87] necessitating his replacement by Bowen in 1811,[88] Grenville continued to rely on his considerable skills as a valuer. In October he was 'Rousing the men of money to thinking about being shut out from a purchase. By the end of the month Sharman could report that he had interest from more than three buyers, at least two having £70,000 to hand.'[89] Whilst Grenville was not prepared to contract to buy East Burnham until there was a sale of the Dorset estates, he was not going to let local financial difficulties stand in the way of his strategic aim of the expansion of Dropmore.

Taste

An abundance of money is not always accompanied by good sense as Pope endeavoured to explain to Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, in the *Fourth Epistle*.[90] That poem, although often touted as a tribute to nature 'let Nature never be forgot. But treat the goddess like a modest fair.', is little more than advice delivered with two barrels; how to overcome natural constraints and how to apply wealth to create 'imperial works' without making a laughing-stock of oneself. An irresistible desire for conspicuous consumption has always been a pitfall for those coming by wealth before discovering good sense. Taste has been defined in many different ways in an attempt to pin down its elusive nature. Shaftesbury defined taste as 'a peculiar relish for an agreeable object, by judiciously distinguishing its beauties; … founded on truth, or veri-similitudae at least, and is acquired by toil and study, which is the reason so few are possessed of it.'[91] The Grenvilles were only too aware that their idea of good taste was not necessarily shared by their employees. Writing to Anne about the Agent John Bowen in 1813, her husband complained:

> One thing has vexed me thoroughly. In order to meet the demands for the Dawna & other buildings in point of timber Bowen has cut more than I fear you would have liked, or than I should have myself approved, & two or three trees which from their situation I fear you would miss very much. It is thoroughly provoking. I am sure he did not mean to do wrong, but I think he has had too much an idea that he was to follow his own taste, & a worse he could not follow. I have scolded him till I almost put myself in a passion & till he almost cried, but the mischief is irremediable. I heartily wish you were here to see it, tho' I know it would vex you – but I am afraid of your thinking it worse than it is, & fretting about it more than the thing is really worth, & yet I cannot help mentioning it to you.[92]

And again;

> I am sorry to say that my walk after breakfast has increased my vexation and yours. The group which we were so fond of under the Beech walk, where the brook makes a turn is reduced to one naked tree & what makes this worse is, that it is impossible not to see that this has been done, not even from a mistaken view of our interest, but from his own detestable taste to open a glade to a window of his house, & to his new woodhouse (for such I know it is & not a stable) both which now stare you in the face from the bench we have put to see the group of trees and the Brook.[93]

Anne replied, in a way which shows she shared his frustration but pointing out that by letting go of Bowen they might well find themselves with someone worse;

> As to what it is best to do about Bowen as far as I can judge at a distance it seems to me clear that having scolded him to your hearts content the best thing you can do is to let him remain. It is certainly a dear bought lesson but now that we have paid the price I think he would be less likely to err in the same way than a new person. ….. Bowen I

am sure thinks a tree past its prime can only be considered as a nuisance & till now has thought that you could not fail to admire his improvements when you saw them. He must by this time be cured of these mistakes. For the present he will cut no more timber & you will positively forbid all alterations but such as you order. After what has passed, I think these positive directions he will be likely to obey. And one must consider that the great activity & zeal which is required for the situation & which he certainly possesses can hardly be found unmixed with a little of the restless spirit of doing. The taste of all these sort of people is equally bad & I really think the follies we vex about have been in some measure occasioned by a mistaken notion of doing his very best. He is quite inexcusable because he had nothing to do but to follow your directions which were such as he could not well mistake. But he certainly has had a wish at first setting out to show great activity & it has unfortunately been sadly misplaced. Still he has many qualities that ought to make him a useful Steward & the extreme difficulty of finding a proper person must be taken into the consideration. But of all this you can judge much better than I.[94]

Grenville, somewhat mollified, found another source of irritation;

> I have told Bowen of your kindness to him, & have lectured him once more, & do really hope that he is sufficiently impressed with the necessity of letting us follow our own fancies in future without assisting us with his taste. He was in the act of making us a pair of tasty iron gates for the lawn with circles, & semicircles and knobs & points, & heaven knows what, according to the most approved examples of Messrs Plans & co-– but these also are now annulled, & he begins to understand that these approved examples are exactly what we most disapprove.[95]

Bowen produced another design, claiming that the circles and semi-circles were not there as a 'fancy' but to achieve both lightness and strength.[96] (fig. 115)

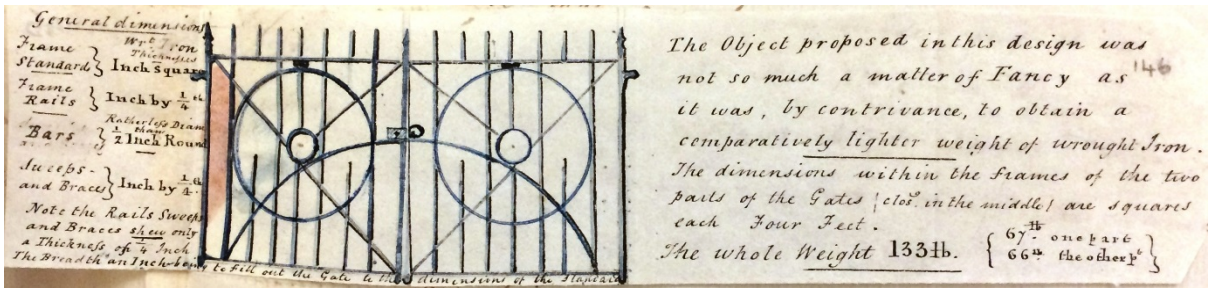

Figure 115; Bowen's second attempt to produce gates to Grenville's liking. 1814. Add MS 59440 f. 143. © British Library.

Grenville was not impressed, writing; 'The gates are detestable but as they are made it is better to put them up than to waste any more money upon them.'[97]

What emerges from those passages is not so much that they had had a low opinion of Bowen's taste but they recognised it to be quite different to their own; and as they were paying the bills it is their taste which should be followed. Bowen seemed to learn his lesson as in later

correspondence with Grenville he repeatedly seeks reassurance that he is following the instructions he has been given. That the Grenvilles's taste was distinctive is epitomised by their disapproval of 'approved examples'.Outside their immediate garden and the Pinetum at Dropmore, and the Shrubbery at Boconnoc, their landscape was quite deliberately unostentatious. Plantations were contained within gentle curves softened by sporadic tree planting at their edges, and in open ground, composed largely of native trees. This approach, as sober as Grenville's classical scholarship, did not prevent the couple exercising their sense of fun in other parts of their properties, as described above.The parterres at Dropmore could have reasonably described in their time to be 'nouvelle vulgarité', bright, brash and using blocks of colour of a kind not seen before. They were a marked departure from the mingled shrubbery planting associated with the Brownian landscapes described by Laird.[98] However, they set a trend for over half a century during which the bedding plant reigned supreme in the flower garden, not least because of the approval of J.C. Loudon. Loudon was very much a gardener's gardener and the massing of plants in that way seemed perfectly appropriate to him.[99]

Competing Objectives.

Preferences for function must be reconciled with questions of taste and the wish to achieve a satisfactory aesthetic outcome. Sometimes these different objectives come into conflict. At Croome Court, Lord Coventry's interest in plants added to the richness of Brown's design, but his overreaching desire to demonstrate the scale of his proprietorship led to the most of the *fabriques*, though excellent in their own way, being set so far away from the house as to be of limited use as amenities or offer much by way of visual interest when seen from its widows. At Stowe, Lord Cobham's enthusiasm for exploring social, political and historical issues through building led to a clutter of temples, pavilions, monuments, and arches, not to mention the grotto, which drew a harvest of criticism, alongside the praise for the buildings themselves. Pückler-Muskau visiting in 1827, though generally impressed, thought it would be an improvement if ten or twelve of these were demolished.[100] For the poet, William Shenstone, his *Ferme Ornée* at The Leasowes in the West Midlands, was a vehicle for a circuit embellished with poetry and classical references in which agriculture played second fiddle.[101] At Holkham, in Norfolk, agriculture and sporting considerations led the development of the landscape, while at Foxley, in Herefordshire, Uvedale Price's evident passion for creating 'pictures' by careful pruning was not allowed to compromise the agricultural and estate improvements he worked on throughout his tenure there.[102]

The sheer joy of interaction with nature is a much-overlooked aspect of the making of eighteenth-century landscapes. Laird has drawn attention to the split sensibilities of the English; the Duchess of Portland feeding hares in her garden, while Lady Hertford did her best to destroy them. Gilbert White (1720 -1793), occupying the middle ground, felt sorry for the hares in cold winters when they could do little damage to his vegetables.[103] Those split sensibilities were not confined to attitudes toward fauna. Different people responded differently to the natural environment generally, even where they had the closest of relationships. Camelford writing to Forster in 1780, called in the help of an early Italian tag taken from Ariosto to explain his objection to manicured landscape, notwithstanding his contribution to the carefully ordered architecture at Stowe and Hagley in his early years;[104]

> We are just return'd from Stowe and Nuneham both sweet gardens, but certainly not wild nature. The *culte pianura delicati colli,*[105] will never arrive at the effect of woods & rocks & deep glens.[106]

That 'blue-stocking' Elizabeth Montagu, who was to employ Brown at Sandleford Priory, when writing to Lord Lyttelton showed she had a rather different view of which was to be preferred, even if she overstates the clarity of the muddy stream at Hagley. She would no doubt have in mind Camelford's Palladian Bridge. (fig 116)

> The raree-shows of nature are rather to be viewed sometimes, than to be constantly desired, be assured therefore, my Lord, that I am ready to step into the chariot of Armida, whenever you send it though it should find me on the banks of the Warff, for I would willingly change its wild untamed beauties for the *Culte pianure e delicati colli, chiare acque, ombrose rive, e prati molli* of Hagley.[107]

Figure 116: The Palladian Bridge at Hagley designed by Camelford in c 1762, as restored in 2014. © (Author).

Some owners managed satisfactorily to combine both ways of enjoying landscape in their properties, much as they might combine a formal parterre as a foreground to a wider 'English Landscape Park' beyond. Jemima, Marchioness Grey (1723-1797), who called in

Brown to help refine the landscape at Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, already graced with the formality of the Archer Pavilion, (fig. 117) had no doubts that;

> There is something in all the Objects the Country presents you with (& particularly in this Season) that if you attend to them naturally banishes Gloom & low Spirits, & I never saw them appear to greater Advantage or in higher Beauty that at present; so that it is much against my will I think of leaving it again this Summer. I am always fond enough of the Country to enter very much into & feel all the Joys of it, but at present I believe my Head is fuller of the subject by having studied for some Days the Spectacle de la Nature with much Pleasure. As there cannot be a Scene of greater Admiration than that opens to the mind & more disposed to raise its Sentiments & fill it with the humblest Gratitude, so surely there is something peculiarly joyous in the thought that every part of the Creation is so filled & so busy, that every Animal great or small (so small as to be far below our Sight) is as regularly & finished a design, & has equally an end in View, tis as certain to attain, nay that even every Plant or Weed is formed for some Design, it never fails to be fit for.[108]

Figure 117; Thomas Archer's Pavilion for Wrest Park, Bedfordshire. 1711. © Historic England.

As with the majority of landowners, the Grenvilles appear to have achieved a satisfactory balance between their own interests and the proper management of their various estates by segregating their land into areas where landscape improvement took priority and those where other objectives would take precedence. Given the scale of the Grenville's eventual landholding, well over 20,000 acres with Boconnoc and Dropmore alone, the part devoted to landscape improvement was small. At Dropmore there is little evidence of the Grenvilles making any significant improvements outside the envelope round the house of some 600 acres and at Boconnoc, other than the tree planting consequent on inclosure over the wider estate, a similar acreage. It appears for example that Burnham Beeches were acquired by Grenville simply to add to his political weight in Buckinghamshire. He already had the advantage of views of it from his Root Mound.[109] It does not appear that the Grenvilles carried out any improvements at Burnham after vacant possession was obtained in 1830, although clearly there would have been scope for that to be done.[110] Harriet Grote suggested that the

Grenville's tenure of the East Burnham Estate was characterised by neglect, although this harsh criticism from that highly politicised writer is at variance with other accounts of Lady Grenville's character.[111]

Even within those two envelopes of land balances had to be struck. Where land could be farmed profitably agriculture would play a stronger part, as with the Lawns at Boconnoc. That would also, had Grenville been successful in his attempts to sell the herd of deer, have displaced the Deer Park. Farming would also have been carried on Braddock Down north of the Obelisk had that land been sufficiently fertile. It must be a possibility, leaving aside the question of its effect on the valuation of the land, that Grenville did not follow Charsley's advice about the quality of the land at Dropmore because his wish to create a setting for his house there would not displace useful agricultural land. During the Napoleonic wars and their aftermath a high priority was given to making good use of land to feed a poor and hungry population, in addition to giving a return to landowners. 'Wilding', or 'Rewilding' of the kind now practised at Knepp Castle, West Sussex, is presently gaining acceptance as a legitimate objective for a private landowner, but would then have been regarded as being immoral.[112] The Burrells, who own Knepp, face similar criticisms even today.[113]

Legal Constraints.

One of the limitations for anyone wishing to build a substantial estate is the unwillingness of third parties to release their property or interests in pieces of land important to an improver. The biblical account of Naboth's vineyard has a particular resonance for landowners,[114]even if their solutions are rather more humane than those of Jezebel. As has been seen in Chapters 3 and 4, Grenville used all the tools at his disposal to ensure there was as little land as possible under the control of other people within the envelope of his estates. This was particularly important in the years up to the Planning Acts of the twentieth-century If a close neighbour chose to put up buildings or carry out other works which disfigured the landscape there was little that could be done to stop them.

Two fundamental hurdles in achieving control of the core of both estates were the feudal hangover of rights of common and the public rights embodied in highways law. Separate Acts of Parliament, commenced by petition, each going through the formal stages of a Bill, were required to inclose land before the Inclosure Consolidation Act 1801, which allowed inclosure where a majority of interested landowners were agreed.[115] There were a number of stringent conditions arising from the Act including the functions of the Commissioner appointed to apportion land and for matters to be dealt with in the final

award. The roads ordered to be provided became public highways. The Hitcham Inclosure Act had been passed under the old law in 1778 and an award had been made in 1779 but the inclosure itself remained unimplemented.[116] Grenville and Charsley had that well in mind when negotiating for the purchase of Dropmore Hill, a purchase conditional on his being given immediate control of part of the common.[117]

The Boconnoc, Braddock and St Winnow Inclosure Act 1809 was for a much larger area of land, and required deft negotiation with interested parties by Bowen as Commissioner. An award was still in draft in 1820 and not finally made until 1822.[118] The long delay was caused by a dispute of the rights of a Mr Thomas Hugo in St Winnow. Land there had been enclosed by Grenville, but Hugo had torn down Grenville's fences claiming a life interest. There was much discussion about how to deal with this. The idea of getting an Act of Parliament to deal with it was discussed and rejected, since that would have involved the publication of notices which might stir up worse trouble.[119] It was decided to negotiate with Hugo. Grenville was keen not to lose control of that land, even if he could not establish ownership, so agreement was reached that the land would be allotted to Hugo, but that Grenville would have the lease of it.[120] In spite of this delay, Grenville was pressing ahead with uncontentious parts of the proposed award by 1813.[121]

Jurisdiction over public highways had been granted by Parliamant to the Magistracy. At both Dropmore and Boconnoc, Grenville was able to secure the necessary orders from the Magistrates, and it is to be hoped not, in Cornwall, because of gifts of venison. The established Church was another powerful interest to be contended with, its rights also protected by Statute. At Dropmore, in 1797 Grenville obtained an Act to allow the Rector of Hitcham to exchange part of his glebe lands with him.[122] Camelford had lived in happy harmony with Forster who, as Parson, was living in what is now the Stewardry with its own Glebe. When Forster died in 1805, having lived a rather eccentric life as an antiquarian and parson with a passionate interest in the protection of animals, he left the parsonage in considerable disrepair. In addition, Grenville had his eye on the Glebe which ran right up to the road on the north side of the then Shrubbery. For these precious acres in the heart of the Estate to be got, an Act was required; this was duly acquired in 1808, that Act requiring him to build a new parsonage and make a new glebe available at Braddock. Meanwhile, at Dropmore, there was the irritation of a piece of land owned by the Burnham Parish as Trustees exercising the function of the former Overseer of the Poor. This piece, the so-called Handkerchief Piece, thought to lie within the ring-fence of Dropmore somewhere north of Brook End Farm, could not be identified by

Packe. The Parish would not sell and Grenville could only obtain control by renting it. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that Lord Kemsley managed to buy in the freehold.[123]

In his dealings, Grenville was prepared to take the long view. In 1811 he was only able to buy the reversion of the East Burnham Estate. That reversion at least gave him some sort of protection. A life tenant could not do anything which might damage the value of the reversion. Mr Popple, who held that life interest, did not die until 1831. Then, with his usual ingenuity Grenville created a new reversion for Fortescue, subject to a new life tenancy for himself and Anne, as a jointure in contemplation of his marriage to Lady Louisa Ryder in 1833. In the event of Fortescue's death, Lady Louisa would have an annuity of £700 pa but control would rest firmly with Anne and himself.[124]

Even small fragments of land could have a part to play in the tapestry of an estate. Sir George Warrender began attempts to sell the Cliveden estate in 1816, and it was eventually sold at auction in 182.[125] Grenville had no interest in the whole but there was a small piece notated as belonging to the Earl of Inchiquin (husband of the Countess of Orkney, of Cliveden) on the road diversion map of 1796. This lay on the Dropmore side of the new road. (fig. 118)

Figure 118; Detail from Q/H/13 showing the land of the Earl of Inchiquin. 1797. © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

As well as Grenville, Tom was also concerned that the opportunity to buy that land should not be lost. In the spring of 1819 he wrote:

> I cannot make up my mind to the notion of you losing what is between you & the road, nor can I understand who can afford to give more than you, as I take for granted you would not grudge giving 1000 or 1500 more than it can be valued at to any other person.[126]

And then, in September, from Trentham:

> But what I do not hear of is still more affecting to the picturesque, for we are fast approaching to Michaelmas & if Mr Crawford does not purchase for you the 'angulus

> iste' [your angle – used by Horace to refer to 'my little farm'] before that time, another year's lease will be let of the ground , even if it be not sold to another bidder,&, at your age as well as mine, twelve months are worth to us a good deal more than they were half a century ago; which consideration will I hope excite both your activity & your extravagance.[127]

To achieve more sensible boundaries to the estates and to secure control over land otherwise outside the boundaries of the estate, Grenville encouraged exchanges of land. At Boconnoc there was an exchange in about 1814 with Mrs Agar,[128] and at Dropmore with both Sir Charles Palmer and a Mr Pocock in 1815-16.[129]

Neither of the two estates could have come into being as they were at the time of Grenville's death without a) use of Inclosure legislation; b) diversion (or turning) of public highways; c) agreements with the church authorities and the Crown;· d) flexibility in acquiring leases where vacant possession could not be acquired; and e) exchanges of land. It was only by these several means that the necessary control could be established to avoid, as Repton would put it, finding land in plain sight which was not in Grenville's 'power to prevent being injured'. Agents and lawyers played their part, but it was Grenville's vision, attention to detail and knowledge of the arts of government which underpinned their work.

Interest and Inclinations

The spirit of scientific inquiry which blossomed in the eighteenth century significantly broadened the range of interests an owner might have in his property, adding an intellectual layer of appreciation over and above that of association. At Fyne Court, Somerset, Andrew Crosse (1784-1855), 'The Electrician', turning his back on the interests of his music-loving great-uncle and uncle who had lavished money on the Music Room, made of the landscape 'one complex register measuring the strength of electrical charges in the air'.[130] At the Wakes in Selborne, Hampshire, Gilbert White incorporated such incidents of the English Landscape Style as a ha-ha and, because he was not well off, a painted wooden cut-out of the Farnese Hercules in his grounds (fig. 119), as he was not a wealthy man. However, it was his vegetable garden, the famous Zig-Zag and the smoother Bostal Path up the escarpment to Selborne Common, that were essential for his botanical and zoological studies for which he is rembered.[131]

Figure 119; The Wakes, Selborne, showing formal elements of Gilbert White's garden below the Hanger. 2009. © Author.

Grenville's interests, apart from the improvement of landscape, lay in horticulture and arboriculture and the use of new plant introductions. Unlike the 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-1792), who preceded Lord Grenville as Prime Minister, Grenville and Anne were not botanists. Although described as such in their own time, they were what would now be called 'plantsmen'. Bute made the study and development of Linnaeus's binomial system, by which plants and animals should be known by genus and species,[132] and its application to British flora his principal interest outside politics, culminating in his publication of his *Botanical Tables* in 1785.[133] It was enthusiasm for botanical fieldwork that lead to his death, never recovering from a fall while botanising on the steep slopes of his Dorset Estate. On the Continent, both Rousseau and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) made scientific studies of botany.[134] By contrast, Grenville and Anne, while supporting the work of plant hunters and welcoming new introductions to Dropmore, were interested not in taxonomy or a systematic study of botany for its own sake. They were concerned with the practical use of plants for the purpose of ornamental and useful gardening and in improving the landscape.

Technical Proficiency.

Even though, for landed gentlemen, the task of planting, growing and harvesting would fall at first instance on the shoulders of tenants, farmworkers, foresters and gardeners, and day-to-day supervision on agents, it is impossible for a landowner to make a success of improvement without knowing a great deal about the skills involved. It is only in the absence of those skills an owner must turn to a professional. It is inherent in Grenville's insistence that his staff should give effect to the instructions given to them by himself and Anne, rather than following their own inclinations, that they had, themselves, the necessary experience to decide what should be done.

Although not, perhaps, in the league of the Norfolk landowners and agricultural innovators 'Turnip' Townshend (1674-1738), at Raynham, or Thomas Coke (1754-1842) at Holkham, Grenville was able to give precise instructions about topics as varied as techniques

for planting, means of fencing, species to be planted, the management of the gardens and tree nursery, and even arable cultivations on land prior to the woodlands becoming established. He demonstrated both at Dropmore and Boconnoc that he had the necessary knowledge to convert bare heathland into a productive and aesthetically pleasing landscape. The Grenvilles decided they were perfectly able to lay out grounds for themselves without the assistance of a landscape architect. There is, however, no evidence of an express rejection of an approach by a designer as was the case with Beckford and Repton at Fonthill.[135]

Some landowners had no more interest in the landscape than having an agreeable setting for their house and being able to impress their visitors, as Jane Austen embodied in Mr Rushworth in *Mansfield Park*. John Adams, the 2nd president of the United States, touring England with Thomas Jefferson, the 3rd President, deplored the fact that so many great houses were shut up when not being used for one frivolity or another. Visiting Osterley, [136] Adams noted;

> We could not see the Apartments in the House, because we had no Tickett. Mrs Child [wife of the banker] is gone to New Markett it seems to the races. The beauty, Convenience, and Utility of these Country Seats, are not enjoyed by the owners. They are mere Ostentations of Vanity, Races, Cocking, Gambling draw away their attention. [137]

Unlike Lord Bute, who was an enthusiast for 'modern gardening' and who engaged Brown to landscape both Luton Hoo and High Cliff, the Grenvilles deplored 'modern gardening'. Although J.C. Buckler was asked to draw up some designs for temples and rockwork and record scenes at Dropmore, *see* Appendix 6, it is evident that what the Grenvilles put in place was of their own devising. This distinction in the approach to landscape by two leading political figures of the eighteenth century usefully illustrates the importance of personal interest, moulded by association, in the way landscapes are made.

It is evident that Grenville's interest in creating the Dropmore Pinetum was primarily horticultural and arboricultural rather than sylvicultural. The introduction of the trees he grew in it brought with them the need for an understanding of the identifying characteristic of conifer species, not yet seen in a comparative setting elsewhere. It is for this reason that the 1828 Loudon article includes very clear illustrations of the needles and fruiting parts of some of the trees, these being the most important distinguishing characteristics between different groups of conifers, *see* Appendix 5. None the less, the nursery inventory from Boconnoc of 1817 shows that Grenville had broadened his interest from the four species mentioned above to include Silver Fir (*Abies alba)* and Spruce (*Picea abies*).[138] (fig. 104) These, evidently, were

also to play their part in due course in his mixed planting. The inventory also gives an indication of the relative proportions of young plants brought on.

It is a popular misunderstanding that conifer plantations have come to dominate tree cover in England. In fact, as at 2011 conifer woodland accounted for only about 24% of the tree cover, 315k ha out of a total of 1292k ha, and of that about half are of species introduced after 1827 of which the greatest number is Sitka Spruce, (*Picea sitchensis)* at 80k ha, a species not introduced until 1831, too late to be planted in quantity by Grenville.[139] Perhaps it is the intrusive way in which conifers have been planted in uniform blocks and scar the landscape when clear-felled that has produced a near hysterical anti-conifer response to these fine trees. Such problems did not arise during Grenville's stewardship of either estate. The OS plans show that even as late as the 1880s all the plantations at Boconnoc and Dropmore were notated as being mixed, the only exceptions being the loose planting of specimen conifers in the Pinetums and elsewhere in the grounds, and the Pinaster Plantation at Boconnoc.

Although gamekeepers were employed at both estates, the Grenvilles' recreational interests lay in horticulture, arboriculture and enjoying landscape. They had no need to adapt their landscape plans to establish suitable coverts for sporting purposes as happened elsewhere.[140] However they did need paths and drives both for exercise and better to be able to carry out their improvements.

Drives and Paths

The network of drives and paths created on eighteenth-century properties, sometimes several miles in extent, are often an element least appreciated by the 21st-century visitor. There may be a few reasons for this. In many cases the drives or paths have become impassable; most visitors do not have the time or the inclination to stray far from the immediate surroundings of a house; the visitor with only a brief time to spend possibly does not have the knowledge of the natural history of the grounds in which they walk; a general knowledge about wildlife cannot replace observation of the behaviour of different species, and their interaction over months and years. In their tour to South Wales the Grenvilles did take the time to thoroughly walk the grounds they visited, and drives and paths on properties would have been kept up in that period, However, as only fleeting visitors, their responses to the landscape seen on their tour were largely visual. By contrast, their letters show how they kept a constant eye on changes in natural phenomena in their repeated walks when at Dropmore and Boconnoc.

Walks and drives, as Kate Felus has pointed out, were essential to the task of owners contriving incremental improvements to their estates; 'There is something of a pleasing

circularity about it: you improve to further enjoy; you further enjoy because you improve.'[141] This was a practice Goethe explored in *Elective Affinities*;

> … in prospect, they began to see their new walk winding along its way, and to imagine the many beautiful views and charming spots which they hoped to discover in its neighbourhood. To bring it all before themselves with greater fullness of detail, in the evening they produced the new chart. With the help of this they went over again the way that they had come, and found various places where the walk might take a rather different direction with advantage.[142]

That extract exemplifies the process by which the Grenvilles had set about making their improvements in their wider grounds. Not only would these drives and paths be set out, usually by hand and eye, to lead to the most interesting places by the most interesting routes, they were also, in the case of Camelford and Grenville, measured with some care. This means that the extent of the principal routes is known, although the precise alignments and the names given to them are, today, uncertain. Camelford's notes of these distances appear in the Boconnoc Minute Book, see Appendix 4. [143] The first note, in Anne's hand, for Dropmore reads as follows;

> The Inner Bounds. Half a mile & a furlong & a half.
> Through the flower garden round the Beech Lawn and back by the Acacia Walk- Three Furlongs & three quarters.
> Round the Turf Walk - Two Furlongs & three quarters.[144]

The second which appears, from the repeated 'your', to have been written for either Grenville or Anne:

> F. Door of Dropmore to bound Hedge near Lodge ¾ of mile.
> to Cross Road by Clifden 1 Mi. ½ Furl.
> to Feathers Inn 1 Mi ¼ & ½ Furl
> to 2nd Oak Tree on left in road from the Feathers to Burnham 1 Mi & ½
> to first gate on left beyond the poorhouse in Burnham road. 1 Mi. ¾
> to gate of new enclosure held by Bruce? At the end of Church Lane 2 Mi. & ¾ of Furl.
> up green lane to roll-gate? of your wood/. 2.Mi ½ & ¼ Furl
> thro' wood by walk to the left to stile gate with your field 3 Mi. ¾
> up fields & by Rhododendron walk to F. Door 3 Miles & Fur. ½ [145]

The extent of the grounds available for walking is revealed by one example. In the closely ordered household routine at Dropmore, meals would be generally be served promptly. However, on January 8th 1814 Anne wrote to her staff: 'The luncheon to come in regularly at two o'clock when there is anybody in the house. Except when the company is walked out, & then to be kept hot until rung for.'[146] This indicates that visitors would be encouraged to wander in the wider grounds for as long as they wished, and implied that these walks extended

far beyond the flower gardens from which they could instantly be recalled by the dinner gong from the house.

Although Repton had advised Pitt at Holwood Park from 1791 and continued to participate to some degree in making improvements until 1798,[147] Pitt himself became actively engaged in refining the landscape. There are strong parallels between Grenville and Pitt in the way that they both walked in the landscape to devise their improvements, although Pitt seems to have been even more involved in manual labour than Grenville. Just as Grenville was very much a private man, so too was Pitt with his 'shyness and bookish, problem-solving mind'.[148] Tomline recalled;

> Like his father he [Pitt] enjoyed rearranging the landscape and creating new vistas, levelling and planting an iron-age camp, creating new walks, digging out a pond, and employing large numbers of labourers without regard to the cost. After toiling in his room over revenue details or foreign dispatches … he would walk out, and taking his spade in hand grub up a thistle or a weed, or give directions about the removal of a shrub, or the turning of a walk, with as much earnestness and interest as if he had nothing else to occupy his thoughts.[149]

This fusion between recreation, improvement, botanical study and meditation in the enjoyment of landscape in the lives of both Grenville and Pitt reflects a new interest during this period with native flora. James Sowerby (1757-1882) in his preface to *English Botany* wrote;

> Not to mention the indispensable necessity for those, who are occupied with the rural economy of the country, to be well acquainted with its native vegetables; the study of them, as mere amusement, has this eminent advantage over exotic, that it doubles the pleasure of every journey or walk, and calls forth to healthy exercise the bodily as well as the mental powers.[150]

This movement was fuelled by two Continental influences. Binomial plant classification allowed plants to be identified more accurately than was possible using the ratbag of local names traditionally used. These were later, usefully, collected in England by Geoffrey Grigson.[151] This was joined by the growth of a philosophical interest in nature within the landscape, led by Rousseau. His ideas, set out in particular in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, underlay the creation of two of the most celebrated eighteenth-century landscape gardens in Continental Europe, Ermenonville in Picardy (laid out in 1762-1778) created by the Marquis of Girardin (1735-1808) and Wörlitz in Saxony (laid out 1769-1773) part of the wide-ranging improvements made in the vicinity of Dessau by Leopold III of Anhalt-Dessau (1740-1817). Before the removal of his body to the Panthéon in Paris, Rousseau was buried on an island in the lake at Ermenonville, where he had died. This island with its fringe of Poplars surrounding

the tomb designed by the French Painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) became the subject of one of the most celebrated landscape images of the time and was copied elsewhere as a tribute to Rousseau, notably at Wörlitz. As with Goethe there would be few educated people in England who would not know of his works, or those two gardens, but Anne would also have learnt of him from her travels in Europe and also because of the family connection with the Ile St Pierre, which had been of such importance to Rousseau *see* Chapter 1.

The idea of losing oneself in a contrived wilderness, or simply in the countryside, is an idea as long as human history and is a strong biblical tradition. Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* sheds an interesting light on the way the experience of both the contrived wilderness and open countryside were received during Grenville's lifetime. Her descriptions have been set in the context of English garden history in an essay by Robert Clark.[152] As he explains, Austen had been able to bring into her writing her experience of Hackwood Park and Herriard Park, near to her early home at Steventon in Hampshire, both of which she had known intimately. However, hers are essentially social commentaries which key in on the passive reception of landscape, as coloured by the then-fashionable debate about the merits of 'picturesque' and the challenge that Repton mounted against the old formal order with his advocacy of the breaking up of Avenues. The sensitivity of her characters to nature is largely confined to the long view and the wider landscape as in Fanny's Portsmouth walk with Henry Crawford in *Mansfield Park*; Catherine Moreland's introduction to Bath with the Tilneys in *Northhanger Abbey*; Emma's view of Abbey Mill Farm in *Emma* and the descriptions of Lyme, Charmouth, Up Lyme and Pinny in *Persuasion*. Although Henry Crawford was full of ideas and projects for the improvement of Southerton Court, its owner, Mr Rushworth, while knowing that it wanted improvement was one of those who had no idea about what to do about it. 'I must try to do something with it, but I do not know what. I hope I shall have some good friend to help me'. Needless to say, he thought he had better have Repton at five guineas a day.[153]

Rousseau did not seek to displace the pleasure in the passive reception of nature, and this remains central to the ideas he explored in *Reverie of a Solitary Walker.* However, he had extended his pleasure in the enjoyment of nature by active engagement with it;

> Precious *far niente* was my first and greatest pleasure, and I set out to taste it in all its sweetness, and everything I did during my stay there was in fact no more than the delectable and necessary pastime of a man who has dedicated himself to idleness …I needed some agreeable pastime which would give me no more trouble than an idler likes to give himself. I set out to compose a *Flora Petrinsularis* and to describe every single plant on the island is enough detail to keep me busy for the rest of my days…In accordance with this noble plan, every morning after breakfast, which we all took together, I would set out with a magnifying glass in my hand and my *Systema Naturae*

> under my arm to study one particular section of the island, which I have divided for this purpose into small squares, intending to visit them all one after another in every season.[154]

Whereas Rousseau focussed mainly on herbaceous plants, grasses and mosses, Grenville concerned himself mostly with trees, and, in particular the flow of recent introductions of conifers. Like Grenville, Rousseau placed emphasis on the importance of accessory ideas;

> It is the chain of accessory ideas that makes me love botany. It brings together and recalls to my imagination all the images which most charm it: Meadows, waters, words, solitude and above all the peace and tranquillity which one can find in these places – all of this it instantly conjures up before my memory.[155]

What sets Grenville apart from the ideas explored by Austen and Rousseau is that he had the personal experience of land ownership and the opportunity of himself engaging in landscape improvement on a substantial scale. Austen was a mere spectator to the fashions of her time and Rousseau's improvements were largely flights of imagination as expressed in *Julie*.[156] Their common ground was the role of walks and drives in the appreciation of the landscape and nature. This was particularly important when a naturesque approach was adopted and there needed to be carefully judged responses to natural changes over time, a process that depends on regular inspections.

Wild Gardening

Wild gardening became a feature of the management of Dropmore. This was later defined by William Robinson as 'placing plants of other countries, as hardy as our hardiest wild flowers, in places where they will flourish without further care or cost'[157] In the Preface he elaborates this;

> It has nothing to do with the old idea of the 'wilderness'. It does not mean the picturesque garden, for a garden may be highly picturesque, and yet in every part the result of ceaseless care.
> What does it mean is best explained by the winter Aconite flowering under a grove of naked trees in February; by the Snowflake, tall and numerous in the meadows by the Thames side; by the blue Lupine dyeing an islet with its purple in a Scotch river; and the blue Apennine Anemone staining an English wood blue before the coming of our blue bells. Multiply these instances a thousandfold, given by many types of plants, from countries colder than ours, and one may get a just idea of the 'Wild Garden'.[158]

By all accounts, during the Grenvilles' lives there were, at Dropmore, a number of areas, adjacent to the places where intensive horticulture was being carried on, where the heathland flora continued to be encouraged. The largest area of this was to the south of the

house where, according to EVB in her usual florid style, and writing 36 years after Anne's death, among the 'purpling cushions of bell-heather and ling are scattered flowering sweet-briers [Sweet Briars or Eglantine, *R. rubiginosa*] in perfumed luxuriance. … Lady Grenville had a passion for them, and planted them about in the grass. And now they come all wild…'[159] Grenville was himself involved in establishing sweet briars at Dropmore as early as 1803 as he reported to Anne 'The sweetbriar hedges are finished, & the honeysuckles in the two square borders will be done today'[160]. What was significant was the introduction, in quantity, of a plant outside the usual range of the local acid heathland flora. In addition to this the planting outside the flower beds and in the woods described by Loudon in 1832 was of the kind later adopted by William Robinson;

> Mr Frost is endeavouring to naturalise many plants, both annuals and perennials, in the woods, by planting and sowing there all his spare plants and seeds. It is incredible what may be done in this way, since it has been proved that the seeds of some stove annuals will remain in the open ground in our winters, and come up and flower vigorously during summer.[161]

Garden and Estate Staff

In considering the way in which any landscape has been made, account must be taken of the contributions of employees as well as those of landowners. Their correspondence shows the Grenville's were reliant on employees such as Sharman and Bowen, as agents, and Rhind and Pond, as estate staff, but always insisted that their instructions should be followed at all times. With any garden as diverse and extensive as that at Dropmore the quality of the horticulture rises and falls depending on the abilities of the Head Gardener. Philip Frost was to become a doyen of horticulturalists and clearly had a great deal to do with the success of the garden after his engagement as Head Gardener in 1832. He was no stranger to the Pitt and Grenville families, having been brought up at Boconnoc where many of his relations worked in one capacity or another. In 1819 at the age of 15 he was employed at ninepence a day under William Pond in the plantations and the nursery, and his mother applied to Grenville through Bowen to raise this to one shilling. Frost must have been one of the two boys 'weeding and hoeing' in the nursery in 1818, and it must have been here that he learnt from Pond the practice of digging 'pits' and filling them with 'dressing' when planting trees,[162] a practice he would further develop on a large scale at Dropmore, creating pits fifteen feet in diameter, two feet deep, filled by twenty-five cartloads of improved soil.[163]

By 1822 Frost had proved himself sufficiently to be brought up to Dropmore to work under Baillie. Six years later he moved to the kitchen garden at Caen Wood, Ashtead, in

Surrey, to improve himself, taking a cut in pay of 6d per week in order to do so. He was clearly not, at that time, sufficiently senior in the garden staff to have had any effective control over what was being done at Dropmore, although he would have been asked to give effect to the Grenvilles' innovative planting schemes and Anne's stratagems for giving height to plants in the garden. He moved from there to Chelsea Physic Garden to further enhance his skills. He was working there when Baillie was dismissed, for reasons which are not clear, but may be those set out in Anne's note headed 'Frost', with his name in that entry being an aide-memoire to contact him, *see* Appendix 3. Loudon makes no criticism of the standard of gardening in his 1828 article with Baillie, perhaps out of consideration for his co-author, but writing again in 1832 he noted 'Beautiful as this place always is, it has been very much improved since we last visited it in 1826. Grenville wrote to Frost in 1832 that he would have him as head gardener, 'in preference to any one he knew.'[164]

The reputation of Dropmore, spread to a wide audience by Loudon's magazines, *see* Appendix 5, was considerably enhanced not just by Frost's horticultural skills but also his talent for self-publicity. Within a year of arriving back at Dropmore he wrote to Loudon, to update him on the information Baillie had given him for the 1828 article, concluding 'If my observations prove of any service to you, I shall feel much pleasure in having forwarded them.'[165] That is an obvious invitation to 'keep in touch'. In the letter Frost trails his proposal to 'scatter all the seed I can procure, in every wild part'. This tends to imply that this was a method of his own devising although he does indicate that 'a great many plants are [already] naturalised throughout the woods here'. Musgrave credits Baillie as having designed the 'Rococo' beds of massed flowers and that Frost was the foreman in charge of making them. David Taylor Fish (1824-1901), the Scottish gardener and horticulturalist, wrote that John Caie (1811-1879), the gardener at Bedford Lodge, Kensington, was 'undoubtedly the originator' of the bedding-out system. In fact, the evidence points strongly to the fact that these early attempts at wild gardening, and planting in masses were both initiated by the Grenvilles, with Anne designing the unusual beds and specifying the plants that should grow in them.

As with the laying out of grounds there is a sliding scale of the relative contribution of master and servant in the making of gardens. A crucial difference is that while it is not necessary to employ a landscape architect for laying out ground, it is inevitable that a Head Gardener must be engaged if an extensive garden is to be made. When Paxton was taken on by the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke 'had shown only a modicum of interest in gardening' employing Paxton because he liked him. He left it pretty much to Paxton how the gardens at Chatsworth were run.[166] Some head gardeners regarded the kitchen gardens as their own

fiefdom and required their employers to ring a bell and wait for them before entry. Some were so autocratic as to make their employers' lives nothing short of hell.[167] Where there is a happy relationship between owner and head gardener it is often difficult to establish where the initiative lies. A wise employee will give their employer credit whenever they can and a generous employer will always deflect credit to the gardener. It becomes even more complicated when an employee claims all the credit himself. Writing in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* after Frost's death, A.D. wrote:

> How far old Frost may have planted of his own initiative, or how far he mechanically obeyed the instructions of his employers, we may never know fully. The old man in his later years had become so garrulous, that his praise was too often more of himself than of others; all the same whether he planted at his own option, or by the orders of others, Dropmore must for many years remain a lovely monument of the old gardener's untiring energy and zeal, for everywhere there are reminders of the fact in trees and shrub that Frost planted here.[168]

There can be no doubt that Frost was not only highly skilled but was also an effective manager of garden staff. It is he that insisted on the proper cataloguing of planting, so lacking in the early years at Dropmore. For this he deserves great credit. He also had the respect of Grenville's friends such as 2nd Earl Mountnorris (1793-1844) of Arley Hall, Bewdley, in Wyre Forest (now the Arley Arboretum), who wrote in 1833:

> …nothing will give me more pleasure than that your gardener should come over here in the Autumn & take everything that can be spared from my garden & which he thinks will be acceptable to you & Lady Grenville. I am in hope that he will find many plants that are new to him as I have received this year about 600 packets of seeds from abroad many of which have come up well, they are still small, but under his own care I think it probable that they will reach Dropmore in safety.[169]

However, in the light of their views, as expressed in the materials referred to in this thesis, in particular the undated note at Appendix 3, it is inconceivable that either Grenville or Anne would have allowed any of their garden staff, however grand, to plant at their own option. The credit for horticultural innovation, beyond the skills of the potting bench, must be theirs.

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[1] Wood, Min, 'On Design and Process', *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. Marion Harney (Oxford: Wiley, 2014), Ch. 5.
[2] Pückler-Muskau, Prince von, *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1826, 1827, & 1828*, 4 vols (London:Effingham Wilson, 1832), 19.
[3] Wood, Min, 'Landscape as Biography', *Beckford Journal* 16 (2010).
[4] Symes, Michael and Sandy Haynes, *Enville, Hagley, the Leasowes; Three Great Eighteenth Century Gardens* (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2010).
[5] Macve, Jennifer, *The Hafod Landscape* (The Hafod Trust, 2004).
[6] Warner, Rev. Richard, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland. Vol 1.* (Bath: Cruttwell., 1802). and http://www.hackfall.org.uk/History [Accessed 21.5.2018].

[7] Repton, Humphry, 'Sources of Pleasure in Landscape Gardening', *Red Book* for Warley, (Samuel Galton), *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening,* (London: Boydell, 1794). Also (Paris: Connaissance Et Memoires, (facsimile) 2006). 78.

I	Congruity
II	Utility
III	Order
IV	Symmetry
V	Picturesque Effect
VI	Intricacy
VII	Simplicity
VIII	Variety
IX	Novelty
X	Contrast
XI	Continuity
XII	Association
XIII	Grandeur
XIV	Appropriation
XV	Animation
XVI	The Seasons

[8] Repton, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening.* Paris edn. 79.
[9] Daniels, Stephen, *Humphry Repton, Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 197-205.
[10] The original of the Endsleigh *Red Book* is now on display at Hotel Endsleigh. It was prepared with his son John Adley Repton.
[11] thegardenstrust.org/news/celebrating-humphry- repton -2018. [Accessed 11.11.2017].
[12] Repton, Humphry, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: J Taylor, 1816), 223.
[13] Ibid., 225.
[14] BL Add MS 58873, f.183, Grenville to Anne, 1 October 1813. [Appendix 2].
[15] Boyle, Eleanor Vere, *Seven Gardens and a Palace* (London: J. Lane, 1900), Kindle Edn, loc. 436.
[16] Baillie and Loudon, *The Gardener's Magazine*, vol. 3 (1828), 263. [Appendix 5]
[17] BL Add MS 59488, f.9, Camelford to Forster, 26 August 1780.
[18] *AA Classic Routefinder* [Accessed online 23/08/2013].
[19] BL Add MS 58873, f.5. Anne, at Dropmore in 1802 has the use of a chaise but there are problems of getting the right staff in the right place. Grenville writes from London 'pray take care the coachman comes up as soon as ever he is able to travel.– I cannot well send the horses to meet you, not having anyone to drive them except the groom.'
[20] Combe, William, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax, in Search of the Picturesque, a Poem* (London: Ackerman, 1812).
[21] Newehall, Isaac, *Letters on Junius* (Boston: Hilliard, 1831), 209, from *The London Magazine* September 1779.
[22] 'House of Lords Journal Volume 18: 6 March 1707', *Journal of the House of Lords: volume 18: 1705-1709* (1767-1830), 270-273;
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=29523&strquery=stony stratford [Accessed: 28 August 2013].
[23] BL. Add MS 59451, f.71, Thomas Coutts to Grenville, 6 August 1793, asking to be considered for a full repairing lease of the Ranger's House in Hyde Park
[24] 'I am not what I once was'.
[25] Presumably referring to the death of Pinckney Wilkinson his father-in-law, who had a severe stroke in May 1782 and died in February 1784.
[26] BL Add MS 59488, f.9, Camelford to Revd. Benjamin Forster, 26 August 1780.
[27] BL Add MS 59443, ff.66, 103v, 181, 184.
[28] BL Add MS 59444, f.166.
[29] BL Add MS 69047, f.29, Mrs Gilbert of Bodmin Priory to Anne. [June 14].
[30] BL Add MS 69047, f.23, Mrs Gilbert of Bodmin Priory to Anne, 9 October 1801.
[31] BL Add MS 71594, f.205, Bowen to Grenville, 21 November 1811: 'I was much grieved to find the house and premises at Collon so much neglected as they were for not even a slate nor any precaution had been made by Mr Irving to keep out the wet - the best parlour was occupied by onions spread on the floor and two sacks of corn. - the wet falling into the upper rooms from very trifling causes.'
[32] BL Add MS 58444, f.54v. For example, Bowen on 15 September 1819, 'I am sorry to inform your Lordship of some disasters at this place. The lightning during one of the heaviest storms of rain ever known in this county

struck a large beech tree on the bank of the brook in the Lawn at the first turn it takes downward from the Great bridge, and split its trunk . so much as to destroy completely the whole tree: which stands at present merely as dead and shattered wood. Two large limbs are broken off a beautiful Beech tree which stands singly in the Deer park a little upward from the ha ha ditch or fence which is between Broad's cottage and Milcombe Wood. This tree shews itself very prominently from the Mansion and if it had been struck like the first above mentioned would have been an irreparable loss. The breaking of these limbs appear to be occasioned by and overloading crop of mast on limbs where natural decay is visible but I think the loss will not be very much observed from the house though an opening is made in losing these limbs in that part of the tree which is seen at it. and BL Add MS 69176 f. 99. Pond writing on 4 January 1822 in his report on the woodlands 'One of the ash trees near the avenue gate by the Garden Lodge is blown down and the large ash at the back of the garden house was blown down on the garden house with the storm but it did not inger [sic] the house so much as might have been anticipated with such a large tree.'

[33] Uniform Penny Post was not introduced until 1840. From 1812 the postage on a single sheet sent over 230 miles rose to one shilling, doubled for 2 pages and 4 shillings if it weighed an ounce. http://www.victorianweb.org/previctorian/letters/rates.html.[Accessed 28.11.2017].

[34] BL Add MS 19176, ff.70, 72. For example, Grenville's dishonest Agent, Bennett, who had spent money owed to the estate, wrote from Cornwall on 28 June 1806 'Charles Rashley was to have lent me the money but now cannot' He begged Grenville not to prosecute because before that would be finished he will have the money anyway. Grenville clearly appalled, replied from 10 Downing Street, London, on the 1 July 'after this I never can again place the smallest importance on anything you write or say to me' and would now only accept a specification by return of post of property he will transfer to Lady Grenville.

[35] *Oxford English Dictionary* 'subdued' [Accessed 5/9/2013].

[36] Mowl, Timothy, *Historic Gardens of Cornwall* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2005), 113.

[37] Gilpin, William, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting,* (London: Blamire 1792).

[38] Repton, *Sketches and Hints,* 57, Taken from the *Red Book* for Holwood (William Pitt)

[39] AOD: 'Above Ordnance Datum', taken as the sea level at Newlyn, Cornwall between 1915 and 1921.

[40] Boyle, *Seven Gardens*, 583.

[41] BL Add MS 69170, f. 29, Robert Charsley to Grenville, 17 February 1792.

[42] The Lucombe Oak was originally raised in a nursery in Exeter by Mr Lucombe in 1762. This was one of the first saplings raised by him and although the tree, which occurs naturally in the wild in the Iberian Peninsula produces fertile acorns, the resulting plants vary considerably and so the tree must be cloned through cuttings. Mr Lucombe was so impressed by the tree that he later felled the original specimen to provide wood for his own coffin.

[43]Rackham, Oliver, *The History of the Countryside* (London: Dent) 1986; Phibbs, John, *Place-Making; the Art of Capability Brown* (Swindon: Historic England, 2017). Esp Part 1, sections 2 and 3. Laird, Mark 'Reflections on *Place-Making* and the Art of the Pleasure Ground' Garden History 46: 1. 91 (2018)

[44] Raulff, Ulrich and Ruth Ahmedzai Kemp, *Farewell to the Horse; the Final Century of Our Relationship* (London: Allen Lane, 2017).

[45] 'Lawns' should be distinguished from 'Parks' *see* Wood, Min. 'Parks and Lawns' *The Cornish Garden, The Journal of the Cornish Garden Society* 58 (2015).

[46] Minto, Earl of, *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto,* The Countess of Minto ed., 3 vols (London: Longman Green,1874), vol. III, 229, 252-3, 357. Jupp, Peter, *Lord Grenville; 1759 - 1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1985), 295.

[47] BL Add MS 69170, f.156.

[48] Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J B Fortescue Esq Preserved at Dropmore, Vol II,* 326.

[49] Aglion, Philippe et al., *Handbook of Economic Growth Volume 1b* (London: North Holland2005), 1168.

[50] Tightly bound bundles of brushwood or coppiced hazel.

[51] Small bundles of sticks.

[52] Jupp, *Lord Grenville*, 465.

[53] Ibid., 90-91.

[54] Ibid., 465.

[55] Ibid., 420.

[56] Grenville's desk from Dropmore was first removed to Boconnoc, and is now at Castle Hill, Devon.

[57] BL Add MS 58873, f.204, Grenville to Anne, 9 October 1813. [Appendix 2]

[58] Baillie and Loudon, *The Gardener's Magazine*, 257. [Appendix 5]

[59] Robinson, John Martin, *The Wyatts, an Architectural Dynasty.* (London: Oxford University Press 1979); Robinson, John Martin, *James Wyatt 1746-1813, Architect to George III* (London: Yale University Press, 2012).

[60] This is doubted in Associates, Giles Quarme &., *Dropmore Heritage Statement*. Available online from South Bucks District Council, March 2013. Ref. 13/00543/FUL., 41.

[61] A particularly poignant example is in a letter from Thomas Richards, a tenant at Boconnoc in July 1809. 'I hope your Ladiship will be so kind as to excuse the freedom I have taken in addressing your Ladiship, but necessity obliges me to do it. The Deer break from your Ladiships Park on my Farm , and destroys my Corn, and Grass, which they have done for several Years past, and I have applied to your Ladiships servants to make up the Fences, but they take no account of me, but I trust your Ladiship will be so kind as to Order the Fences to be made up, or that your Ladiship will Order to make me Satisfaction for the Damages, as it is coming on to Harvest I shall have all my Corn destroyed but hearing of your Ladiships Goodness not willing to do any Injury to your Ladiships Tenants, Your Ladiship will be so kind as to Order the Fences to be made up, which will be the greatest pleasure and happiness, and greatly oblige your Ladiships most Obedient Humble Servant at Command. BL Add MS 69176, f.166.
[62] BL Add MS 58872, f. 251,'Wednesday' [Oct 1822].
[63] He could hardly refuse the visit as the Prince who was to become Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands in 1813 after Napoleons defeat at the battle of Leipzig in which Bernadotte had played a decisive role. He was therefore a crucial ally of Britain providing a buffer in the Netherlands against French and Spanish ambitions in the North Rhine. In addition Hendrik Fagel, the Dutch ambassador in England was a close personal friend of Grenville and spent some time staying with him at Boconnoc.
[64] BL Add MS 58873, f.63, Grenville to Anne, 10 September 1813. [Appendix 2]
[65] Ibid., f.108, Grenville to Anne, 16 September 1813. [Appendix 2]
[66] Ibid., f.126, Grenville to Anne, 19 September 1813. [Appendix 2]
[67] Ibid., f.223, Grenville to Anne, 16 October 1813. [Appendix 2]
[68] Swift, Jonathan, *Gulliver's Travels* (London: Motte, 1726).
[69] Camelford to Forster, on being granted a peerage in 1783: 'I will only say that the pleasure I feel in going into the House of Lords is not half so great as that of quitting the H of Commons which is grown to be a Bear Garden that I would rather have thrown myself out of Parlt than have continued in it much longer'. BL Add MS 59488, f 76. Fortescue to Anne in 1832: '*I* have nothing to take me to town, and I enjoy the prospect of passing the *whole* of the *half* of *this* spring as I passed the half of the last in this county, instead of abusing it in endeavouring to revolutionize the country in Parliament. How sincerely do I thank my stars that I am out of Parliament and therefore I have nothing to do with politics'. BL Add MS 69050, f160. Fortescue sat for the 'Family' seat of Hindon from 1828-1831.
[70] Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, 1710 to 1921 (*Manchester: Manchester University Press 1994).
[71] Thompson, Ian, *The Sun King's Garden: Louis Xiv, Andre Le Notre and the Creation of the Gardens of Versailles* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006).
[72] Lord Rosebery, *Lord Chatham: His Early Life and Connections* (London: Harper, 1910). p. 123. It is unlikely that Rosebery had an axe to grind. The book is dedicated to Bevill Grenville Fortescue of Dropmore and Boconnoc who encouraged the publication.
[73] BL Shelfmark 745.a.6.
[74] British Museum, Number 1935,0522.4.144.
[75] Williams Wynn, Lady Charlotte, *Correspondence of Charlotte Grenville, Lady Williams Wynn and Her Three Sons, Sir Watkin Willliams Wynn Bart., Rt. Hon. Charles Williams Wynn, and Sir Henry Williams Wynn G.C.H., KCB 1795 - 1831*, ed.,Rachel Leighton (London: Murray, 1920), 276, From Vale Royal, 21 August 1821. https://archive.org/stream/correspondenceof00willuoft/correspondenceof00willuoft_djvu.txt [Accessed 23.8.2017].
[76] BL Add MS 58873, f.210, Grenville to Anne, 8 October 1813. [Appendix 2]
[77] BL Add MS 71594, f.198, Sharman to Grenville, 29 October 1811.
[78] BL Add MS 59451, f.71, Thomas Coutts to Grenville, 11 September 1811.
[79] Ibid., f.130, Coutts Bank to Grenville, 22 December 1815.
[80] Ibid., f162, Grenville to Coutts Bank, 20 December 1815.
[81] Ibid., f.133, Thomas Coutts to Grenville, 29 December 1815.
[82] BL Add MS 71594, f.71, Grenville to Bowen, 24 September 1811.
[83] BL Add MS 59456, f.58.
[84] Packe, A. H. *Burnham's Prime Minister* Self-Published Typescript, Copy held at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Catalogue number D-X 1136/16. (Aylesbury, 1986.) 4.
[85] BL Add MS 19176, f.138.
[86] BL Add MS 71594, f.152, Grenville to Bowen, 2 September 1811.
[87] Ibid., f.25, Sharman to Grenville, 28 February 1801, 'Again because of the fatigue of my attendance at the Courts, the bad accommodation forc'd to put up with, and my so frequently getting wet I again found myself very much depress'd and enfeebled both in strength and spirits, these combined together with the perplexity caus'd by trickish and knavish proceedings of some of the tenantry and others, as well as the frequent mischievous

depredations committed on the estate tended to keep my mind too much occupied and agitated to improve my health or comfort'.

[88] Ibid., f.79, Gilbert to Anne, 13 February 1811.
[89] Ibid., f.198, Sharman to Grenville, 29 October 1811.
[90] Pope, Alexander, *Epistle to Lord Burlington, On Taste,* 1731 in *The Works of Alexander Pope: Moral Essays* ed.William Warburton (London: Knapton, 1752).

[91] Ashley-Cooper, Anthony, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Weekly Register*1731; Bernard Denvir, *The Eighteenth Century; Art ,Design and Society 1689-1789* (Harlow: Longman, 1983), 63.

[92] BL Add MS 58873, f.30, Grenville to Anne from Boconnoc, 6 September 1813.
[93] Ibid., f.37, Grenville to Anne, 7 September 1814.
[94] Ibid., f.69, Anne to Grenville from Malvern, 10 September 1813.
[95] Ibid., f.132, Grenville to Anne, 20 September 1813.
[96] BL Add MS 59440, f.143, Bowen to Grenville, 26 January 1814.
[97] Ibid., f.155, Grenville to Bowen, 14 February 1814.
[98] Laird, Mark, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden, English Pleasure Grounds 1720 - 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

[99] Loudon *The Gardener's Magazine* vol 9. 643 [Appendix 5]
[100] Puckler-Muskau, Prince von, *Lettres Posthumes* (Paris: La Haye, 1833), Vol I, 279. '*Ces jardins sont anciens, et quoique fort beaux souis plusiers rapports, et remarquables par leur richesse en grands arbres, ils sont tellement surcharges de temples et de fabriques de toute espece, que ce serait une grande amelioration que d'en abattre dix ou douze*.'

[101] Symes and Haynes, *Enville, Hagley, the Leasowes*.
[102] Watkins, Charles and Ben Cowell, *Uvedale Price, 1747 - 1829, Decoding the Picturesque* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2012).
[103] Laird, Mark, *A Natural History of English Gardening 1650 - 1800* (London: Yale University Press, 2015), 5.
[104] Harris, John, *A Passion for Building: The Amateur Architect in England 1650 – 1850* (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007).
[105] *Orlando Furioso*, Canto 6, Verse XX, 'Mid cultivated plain, delicious hill, Moist meadow, shady bank, and crystal rill.' Ludvico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso (Orlando Enraged), Electronic Edn Trans. William Stewart Rose.* (gutenberg.org (EBook #615), 1532.
[106] BL Add MS 59488, f.7, Camelford to Forster, 9 August 1780.
[107] Montagu, Mrs., Elizabeth, *The Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, Part the Second.*, vol. Cadell, III vols. (London: Mathew Montagu, 1813), vol iv, 311.
[108] BAS L30/91, Jemima de Grey to her friend Catherine Talbot, 29 May 1746. *See also* Twigs Way, *Report on the Gardens and Parks at West Park as Recorded in the Letters and Diaries of Members of De Grey Family C1740-1830* (Unpublished Report for Historic England).
[109] BL Add MS 69042, f.236, Grenville to Anne, 5 Ocober 1822. 'We have had two beautiful afternoons here, & the mountain is gradually growing, & I have with excellent effect cut some of the ash out of the copse, which has opened all Burnham Beeches'. [Appendix 2]
[110] Le Sueur, A.D.C., *A Guide to Burnham Beeches, and the Manor of Allerds-in-Burnham* (London: The Corporation of London, 1955). 'In 1812 Mrs Gordon sold the reversion of the estate to Lord Grenville of Dropmore, a cousin of William Pitt, and one of the leading politicians of the time'.This purchase was made entirely for political reasons connected with the control of votes, but any hoped-for advantage was swept away by the Reform Bill of 1832. Popple did not die until 1830. Lord Grenville, forced to retire owing to illness in 1823, died in 1834.For the next forty-five years the estate was owned by landlords who seldom, if ever visited it. In 1879, outlying parts of the Dropmore estate were put up for sale by auction, and included in this sale was an area of 574 acres, by now popularly known as Burnham Beeches. The difficulty [that the Corporation could not buy enclosed land even if within 25 miles of London] was overcome by Sir Henry Peek who purchased Burnham Beeches as a whole, keeping the 174 acres of enclosed land and reselling 374 of open land to the Corporation of London. to be used as open space forever.'
[111] Grote. Harriet *Some Account of the Hamlet of East Burnham* (1858) (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing (reprint), 2010), 28, 'Why – but I should never finish were I to go through the series of " acts undone which ought to have been done" in reference to this neglected district [East Burnham] Grote was married to George Grote the Philosophical Radical politician and scholar.
[112] Tree, Isabella, *Wilding: The Return of Nature to a British Farm.* (London: Picador, 2018).
[113] Ibid., 131.
[114] 1 Kings 21.
[115] Inclosure Consolidation Act 1801, 41 Geo III Ch 109 (repealed by the Commons Act of 1899).
[116] http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/bucks/vol3/pp231-235 [Accessed 6.12.2017].
[117] BL Add MS 69170, ff.5, 7, Charsley to Grenville, 28 November and 1 December 1791.

[118] CRO QSPDA/1.
[119] BL Add MS 59444.
[120] Ibid., ff.16-53.
[121] BL Add MS 58873.
[122] Eton College Collections, COLL.EST HIT 01.
[123] Packe, A. H., *Burnham's Prime Minister*, 5.
[124] BL Add MS 69362, f.15, Tom to Fortescue, 21 December 1832.
[125] http://landedfamilies.blogspot.co.uk/2016/08/223-astor-of-cliveden-and-hever.html [Accessed 7.12.7017]
[126] BL Add MS 69040, f.95, Tom to Grenville [February or March 1919].
[127] Ibid., f.97, Tom to Grenville, 12 September 1819.
[128] BL Add MS 59440, f.187, 14 March 1814, Grenville to Bowen. 'You should lose no time now in endeavouring to settle with Mrs Agar's agent the proposed exchange at the Taphouse, & the conveyance might then be made at once to her.'
[129] Packe, *Burnham's Prime Minister*, 8.
[130] Mowl, Timothy and Marion Mako, *Historic Gardens of Somerset* (Bristol. Redcliffe, 2010, 148; Stuart Prior and Timothy Mowl, 'Garden of a Modern Prometheus-Fyne Court', *Garden History*, 37, No 1, Summer 2009 (2009), 111-124.
[131] White, Gilbert *The Natural History of Selborne*, World's Classics , Introduction and notes by Paul Foster ed. (London: Benjamin White, 1788).
[132] Linnaeus, Carl, *Species Plantarum*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Salvius, 1753).
[133] 3rd Earl of Bute, *Botanical Tables Containing the Different Familys of British Plants Distinguished by a Few Obvious Parts of Fructification Rang'd in a Synoptical Method (Illust. John Miller)* (Privately Printed, 1785). Only 12 sets of the 9 volume work were privately published by Bute.
[134] von Goethe, Wolfgang von, *The Metamorphosis of Plants* (Gotha: Carl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1790); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Letters on the Elements of Botany: Addressed to a Lady*, trans. Thomas Martyn (London: White, 1787).
[135] Gemmett, Robert J., *Beckford's Fonthill: The Rise of a Romantic Icon* (Norwich: Michael Russell (Publishing) Ltd, 2003), 92, citing Melville, L, *The Life and Letters of William Beckford* (London: Heinemann, 1910), 256, Writing to Repton on the 24 July 1799, 'It is impossible not to be flattered with an offer to contribute to the Ornament of my place from an Artist of your Eminence and Celebrity; but Nature has been liberal to Fonthill and some Embellishment it has received from Art, has fortunately gained so much the Approbation of my friends that my Partiality to it in its present state will not perhaps be thought altogether unreasonable. I am, nevertheless, much honoured and obliged in your having thought Fonthill considerable enough to merit your attention.
[136] The design of the park at Osterley has been attributed by English Heritage and the National Trust to Mrs Robert Child and her steward, Mr Bunce, but it relies heavily on contemporary 'Brownian' fashion.
[137] Adams, John, *A Tour of English Country Seats &C. With Thomas Jefferson* (Wasington DC: National Archive (US), 1786), Entry for 20 April 1786.
[138] BL Add MS 84019
[139] Forestry Commission National Forest Inventory 2011 woodland map England. The Inventory is kept under regular review.
[140] Vandervell, Anthony and Coles Charles, *Game and the English Landscape* (London: Debrett, 1980). *See also* specifically in relation to parks, doubting this an influence, John Phibbs, 'Field Sports and Brownian Design', *Garden History* 40, no. 1 (2012), http://www.jstor.org/stable/41719887.
[141] Felus, Kate, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden; Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* (London: I B Tauris, 2016), Kindle Edn. 571.
[142] Goethe, Wolfgang von, *Elective Affinities*,1809, trans. Hollingdale (London: Penguin Classics, 1971), Kindle Edn., 1131.
[143] BL Add MS 19176.
[144] BL Add MS 69170, f.232.
[145] Ibid., f.231.
[146] Ibid., f.191.
[147] Historic England, *Holwood Park List Entry Description (Number 1000812)* (1998).
[148] Hague, William, *William Pitt the Younger* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), 205.
[149] Ibid., 213, taken from Tomline, unpublished Chapter XXVII of his *Life of Pitt*. BL Add MS 45107 J, f.36.
[150] Sowerby, James *Preface to English Botany*, 36 vols. (London: Sowerby, 1790).
[151] Grigson, Geoffrey, *The Englishman's Flora.* (London: Pheonix House, 1955).
[152] Clark, Robert, 'Wilderness and Shrubbery in Austen's Works', *Persuasions Online.* 36, No. 1 (Winter 2015) (2015), http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol36no1/clark.html.
[153] Austen, Jane, *Northanger Abbey (Completed 1803)* (London: Murray, 1817). Kindle Edn at loc. 681.

[154] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Reveries of the Solitary Walker* (1782) Translated by Peter France (London: Penguin Classics, 1979*,* Fifth Walk, 83.

[155] Ibid., 120.

[156] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, or La Nouvelle Heloise*, trans. Judith H McDowell (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987).

[157] Robinson, William, *The Wild Garden 4th edn* (London: Murray, 1894) Forewords, xix.

[158] Ibid., Preface, xv.

[159] Boyle, *Seven Gardens*, 328.

[160] BL Add MS 58873, f.10, Grenville to Anne, 15 April 1803.

[161] Loudon *The Gardener's Magazine* vol 9. 645 [Appendix 5]

[162] Pond's reports to Grenville, BL Add 69179, ff 42, 24.

[163] Mitchell, A F. *Forestry Commission: Forest Record No 48. The Dropmore Pinetum*. London: Forestry Commission. 1963, 4

[164] Musgrave,. Toby, *The Head Gardeners* (London: Aurum, 2007) 92.

[165] Frost, Philip "Letter Dated 2nd September 1833." *Gardener's Magazine* Vol IX 559-61.

[166] Musgrave, *The Head Gardeners*, 154.

[167] Musgrave, Toby and Mike Calnan, *The Seven Deadly Sins of Gardening and the Vices and Virtues of Gardeners.* (London: National Trust, 2006), 101.

[168] *The Gardeners' Chronicle* 1890.vol. VIII 790.

[169] BL Add MS 59460, f.252.

Chapter 6. Conclusions.

There is no established methodology for assessing the influence of any garden or landscape on the making of another. By 1834, over a hundred years of intense interest in horticulture since Philip Miller's (1691-1771) *Gardeners Dictionary* of 1731 had led to the establishment of a number of societies associated with horticulture and botany; The Royal Society, dating from 1660, found itself being presided over by the noted botanist and scientist, Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) from 1778 to 1820, The Linnean Society was founded in 1788, The Horticultural Society of London in 1804, The Royal Horticultural Society of Cornwall in 1832. The publication of books and magazines about gardens and landscape was widespread. Although the *Supplement to the Journal of Horticulture* of 8th March 1906 noted, 'The student of horticultural history will not find Dropmore mentioned in the earlier books of last century', Loudon does not mention it in his *Encyclopedia of Gardening*, published in 1830, Dropmore was well reported elsewhere in Loudon's periodicals and earned a special mention in his *Arboretum Et Fruticetum Britannicum*.[1]

Important work was being carried on in Botanic Gardens; Oxford, founded in 1621, Edinburgh in 1670, Cambridge in around 1760, and Kew, in 1840 (following Kew Gardens, being brought together in 1772). Otherwise, the focus of the greatest activity was on the substantial estates. *The Botanical Magazine,* or *Curtis's Botanical Magazine,* begun in 1787 and published from the Royal Gardens of Kew, produced fine illustrations of plants from Kew and other important gardens accompanied by authoritative botanical commentaries. In due course several references to Dropmore would appear in it. With a small inter-connected landed aristocracy there was a constant interchange of information between them, as for example, within the wider Pitt, Grenville, Lyttelton cousinhood. The nurseries were doing good business and exchanging plant material from one estate to another, involving themselves in the propagation of recent introductions. Garden owners and head gardeners were swopping ideas and plant materials.[2] The day of the plant hunter had dawned, sponsored by nurseries, landowners or following their own spirit of inquiry. Garden visiting was becoming popular, not least by the Royal Family.

Amongst all of that it is impossible to trace the true extent of the influence exerted by a particular gardener or improver on others. As today, credit has often been given to the 'big' well-reported names to a greater extent than they deserve. For example, the threads of influence between different practitioners in the 'Brownian' tradition has never been quite clear. Brown supervised the digging of the Grecian Valley at Stowe, but whose idea was it,

Brown's, or Cobham's whose idea Brown told him it was, or Kent's, extending the landform of the Elysian Fields up past the grotto?[3]

Fame alone cannot, it is suggested, amount to a measure of influence. Dropmore certainly became as famous as Boconnoc was neglected by commentators. Judgements about influence are largely circumstantial. The development of the Pinetum was innovative and grew to be, arguably, the finest in the world in its time. Whilst others, like Lord Mountnorris at Arley were creating arboreta, Loudon suggested that Grenville's concentration on species of conifer gave a new impetus to the creation of Pinetums elsewhere. In *Arboretum and Fruticetum* he reviewed the history of conifer collections going back to the small collection established at Woburn Abbey in 'Miller's time' (1691-1771) he continued;

> The best collection of old [conifer] trees in the immediate of London, now (1837) existing are those at Kew and Syon; but the most complete collection, where the plants are of a considerable size, in England, and doubtless in the World, is that in the pinetum at Dropmore, near Windsor, commenced by the late Lord Grenville, about 1810, and now (1837) amounting to above 100 kinds. This fine collection is kept up with the greatest care by Lady Grenville, and every new species or variety is added as soon as it can be procured……..*Pinetums* by which are to be understood to be collections of the Abietinae planted by themselves, and without the intermixture of broad-leaved trees, have, since the commencement of that at Dropmore been formed by several landed proprietors in different parts of the country; stimulated no doubt by the extraordinary beauty and interest of the Dropmore pinetum, and by the number of new and beautiful species of pines and firs that have been introduced from California and the Himalayas.[4]

He then lists the great number of Pineta established after 1792. It cannot be said that Grenville invented the idea of a Pinetum but his was one of the earliest in the nineteenth century, and he created one better than anyone else had done. Loudon was writing in 1837, that is only five years after Frost's appointment, so the credit cannot be his. It is contended that this confirms a significant influence by Grenville over other landowners in respect of tree collections.

In her diaries between 1838 and 1868 Queen Victoria mentions Dropmore on 13 occasions. One is a general hunting reference, five are of mentions of visits by other members of the royal household, three are of her walking there and four of her driving through the grounds or seeing it from her phaeton. She does not appear to have been fired by any great enthusiasm for horticulture beyond liking a pretty place, admiring the views and thinking the Azaleas and Rhododendrons 'marvellous', but Prince Albert, she recorded, was captivated by the trees;

> Saturday, 15th April 1865,
> …At ½ p. 4 drove with Louise & the two Ladies, Gen.Seymour riding, to Dropmore, where I had not been since I think 20 years, or even more [actually 13 years]. We got

> out & walked abroad, admiring the magnificent trees, but with an aching heart,for they were my beloved one's great delight. He used to come here & be in such ecstasies over the many splendid different specimens, hoping ours might become as fine, though he never thought he would see them! The flowers are also very fine & such quantities of primroses…[5]

Apart from his introduction of the use of Norway Spruce as Christmas decorations to the Royal Household, Prince Albert had a deep interest in trees, learnt in childhood at Schloss Rosenau, Coburg, in Germany. John Lindley (1799-1864), Secretary of the Royal Horticultural Society named the Prince Albert Yew (*Saxegothaea conspicua*), introduced by William Lobb (1809-1864) from South America in 1847, in his honour. It is likely that Albert would have spread accounts of the Pinetum, and his respect for it, among his many friends.

The second area where the Grenvilles can be given credit as pioneers is in relation to planting in masses, and in elaborately-designed beds. Pückler-Muskau was one of the most influential of Continental improvers, well known for his laying out of his estates at Muskau and Branitz as well as for his colourful public and private lives. In August 1827 he visited Dropmore and wrote in his diary;

> Early in the morning we drove to Stoke Park, the residence of a grandson of the celebrated quaker, William Penn. ... The park and garden, though beautiful, presented nothing remarkable. This we found in Dropmore the, seat of Lord Grenville, where the most extraordinary trees and an enchanting flower-garden excited all our attention. It was more properly two or three gardens; - in richness of flowers, really unique; the beds are partly cut in the turf, partly surrounded with gravel. Each bed contained only one sort of flower, which threw an indescribable richness of colour over the whole picture. Countless geraniums of every sort and colour, with many other flowers we hardly know, or of which we possess at most only single specimens, were arranged in large and splendid masses. The colours too were so admirably grouped that the eye rested on them with extreme delight.[6]

His *Hints on Landscape Gardening* was not published in English until 1917, but it was available in German from 1834. Whilst making no express reference to Dropmore, he confirmed his interest in massing of the kind he had seen there;

> I repeat here that the selection and distribution of flowers must be left to the individual taste of the owner, though I will say in passing that flowers of the same kind in large masses generally make a far more impressive effect than a mixture of many different kinds in the same bed.

Loudon in his 1828 article (with Baillie) wrote;

> … altogether, the disposition of plants about and against the garden front of the house equalled our expectations, while the symmetrical disposition of assemblages of flowers on the lawn surpassed them. The effect of considerable masses, entirely composed of

> Geranium, of Celsia, of Heliotropium, of Fuchsia, of *Salvia coccinea,* and of various other free-growing green-house plants, is striking for its novelty ane rarity, and well worthy of imitation. We have seen no place where this description of flower-gardening is carried on to such an extent as it is at Dropmore.[7]

In addition to being impressed by the massing of colour, Pückler-Muskau also appreciated the way in which Grenville had, 'with money and patience' mastered the difficult soil of Dropmore;

> Yet a great part of the park consisted only of barren soil with heather,- just like that of our woods. The turf was dry and scorched, yet the high cultivation gave to the whole and air of great beauty, and confirmed me in my persuasion that with money and patience every soil may be overcome, - climate alone cannot.[8]

This passage can usefully be read with a later reference to his visit to Virginia Water where, it is clear, the practices Grenville had developed at Boconnoc and Dropmore to deal with poor soil were not being used;

> I was not a little surprised to see the whole country here assume a new character, and one very uncommon in England,- that of my beloved Fatherland: fir- and pine-wood intermingled with oaks and alders; and under foot our heather, and even our sand, in which this years plantations were completely dry and withered. I could have given the King's gardeners some useful hints about planting in sand, for I convinced myself that they do not at all understand the treatment of that sort of soil.[9]

Many of the commentators writing about Dropmore remarked on how wild flowers were encouraged, and introduced plants naturalised in a way that was later to be popularised by Robinson in *The Wild Garden*. Loudon in the 1828 article, *see* Appendix 5, wrote:

> In the open glades of the lawn in the woody scenery, groups of flowers rise up among moss; others among roots, rocks, gravel, petrifactions, bark or other materials. Fine single specimens of green-house plants appear here and there, plunged in pots.[10]

And in 1832.

> Mr. Frost is endeavouring to naturalise many plants, both annuals and perennials, in the woods, by planting and sowing there all his spare plants and seeds. It is incredible what may be done in this way, since it has been proved that the seeds of some stove annuals will remain in the open ground during our winters, and come up and flower vigorously during summer.[11]

By the end of the century, unsurprisingly, the focus in the woody areas turned from smaller plants to the shrubs which had reached maturity, and such plants as bluebells, but EVB, as noted above, described how the sweet briars flourished on the remaining heath.

The approach of the Grenvilles to the laying out of the wider landscape, as later followed by Fortescue and Lady Louisa had a decisive influence on one of the greatest landscape architects of them all, Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903). His last great project was working with George Washington Vanderbilt (1862 -1914) on improvements to the 8,000 acre core of his huge 125,000 acre estate in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina, USA. (fig.120) In 1892, exactly 100 years after Grenville began to make Dropmore, Olmsted made a visit there;

> Friday, we drove to Dropmore and Burnham Beeches in the morning. Both most instructive and delightful. I shall send Rick back to study them more deliberately. Dropmore surprised me very much. It is so comparatively wild. It comes near to being a model of what we want in the Arboretum at Biltmore, I mean, in general effect. Our plan will be much more complete & valuable.[12]

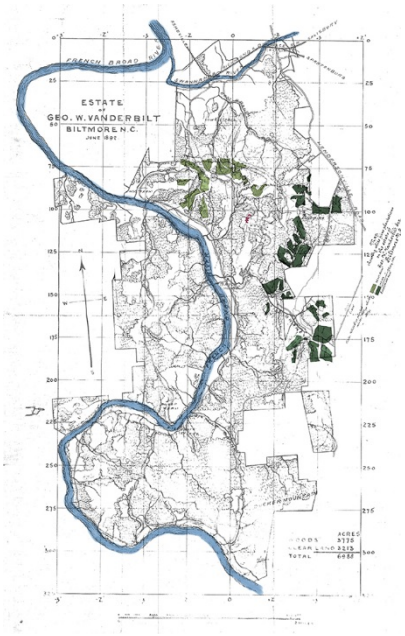

Figure 120; Map generated by Roxi Thoren of Olmsted's Planting at Biltmore, before the 1892 visit.[13] © Roxi Thoren.

In summary, the work done at Dropmore during Grenville's lifetime became an influence in five important areas of landscape improvement and horticulture during the nineteenth century: the development of Pineta; the massing of colour in flower gardens; the improvement of poor soil prior to planting trees and shrubs; the encouragement of wild flowers and naturalisation of tender plants in pleasure grounds; ways of working with nature in the formation of landscapes, including the innovation of the stump mound, arguably the earliest stumpery in England This list might appear to ignore his work at Boconnoc, but it was there that many of the skills later put to good use at Dropmore were learnt and refined; and of course, Boconnoc was the cradle of Frost's career. It may also be that some of the thousands

who were to visit Dropmore during the nineteenth century were encouraged by what they saw there to have fun, and enjoy the whimsical, in their gardens.

Whilst the structure of the landscape at Boconnoc has remained remarkably stable since Grenville's death, the march of *R. ponticum* apart, that of Dropmore has experienced fundamental changes and periods of neglect. At Boconnoc, Grenville's vision for the look of the landscape is still evident, even in the Braddock Down Plantations which he never had the opportunity to implement himself. Dropmore, which could in 2013 properly be described as a lost landscape both in terms of its structure and its condition, only archive materials provide a satisfactory account of how the landscape may have appeared at the time of Grenville's death. The loss to a golf course in 1993 of the southern part of the rump of the estate, within the envelope of roads he had contrived, has not had the impact on the landscape that it might have had if he had been focussing his attention on improvements there. Nonetheless it has compromised the integrity of Grenville's attempt to make of his newly fashioned estate a single harmonious entity. Since 2013, there has been remarkable progress in the restoration of the core area of Dropmore. This new chapter in the history of Dropmore will deserve detailed study when the final results of that work become clear. It is, as it should be, an exercise in creating a new landscape to suit the interests and inclinations of its new owners from the bones of the Grenville's landscape legacy. At Boconnoc, the landscape they created or inspired remains much as they intended it to be 1834.

The life of Grenville in the landscape at Dropmore and Boconnoc provides excellent examples of how the drivers behind the making of improvements can be of equal or greater significance in the appreciation of landscapes than the resulting reception of them by the visitor. An individual's response to nature as they find it, their associations and interests, their experience of husbandry and the financial constraints upon them combine to add to the richness and diversity of the nation's inventory of made landscapes which we would not enjoy if their creation was the preserve of designers alone.

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[1] John Claudius Loudon, *Arboretum Et Fruticetum Britannicum* (London: Longman, 1838).
[2] Examples of the transfer of plant material from one estate to another are to be found in the correspondence of Tom and Fortescue with Grenville and Anne.
[3] Hunt, John Dixon, 'Emblem and Expressionism in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 4, no. 3 (1971).
[4]Loudon, *Arboretum and Fruticetum*, 2102 (part III).
[5] Queen Victoria R.I., *Queen Victoria's Journals*, London.
[6] Prince von Puckler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1826. 1827, & 1828* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1832). BL Shelfmark BL Shelfmark 567.e16, Vol IV Letter III. 137
[7] Baillie and Loudon *The Gardener's Magazine*. [Appendix 5]

[8] Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England*, 137.
[9] Ibid. p. 144.
[10] Baillie and Loudon, *The Gardener's Magazine*.
[11] Loudon *The Gardener's Magazine* vol 9. 645
[12] Olmsted, Frederick Law et al., *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted. The Last Great Projects 1890 - 1895 (Vol. 9)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 2015), 553, Sunday 24th July 1892.
[13] Thoren, Roxi, "Deep Roots: Foundations of Forestry in American Landscape Architecture," *Scenario 04; Building the Urban Forest* (Spring 2014).

Epilogue

Figure 121; A posthumous portrait of Grenville painted by subscription in 1840 to commemorate his installation as Chancellor of The University of Oxford in 1810. Thomas Phillips. Examination Schools. © University of Oxford.

The expectations of Robert Southey (1774-1843), Poet Laureate (1813-1843), that Grenville's fame would never die because of his good religion, and the part he had played in the Abolition of Slavery have been dashed.

> The statesman's fame will fade,
> The conqueror's laurel crown grow sear;
> Fame's loudest trump upon the ear of Time
> Leaves but a dying echo; they alone
> Are held in everlasting memory,
> Whose deeds partake of heaven. Long ages hence
> Nations unborn, in cities that shall rise
> Along the palmy coast, will bless thy name;
> And Senegal and secret Niger's shore,
> And Calabar, no longer startled then
> With sounds of murder, will, like Isis now,
> Ring with the songs that tell of Grenville's praise.[1]

Even allowing for the flowery style to be expected in academic ceremonies (fig.121), the substance of the poem was fully justified by Grenville's service to his country and to humanity. Yet, never mind West Africa, Grenville remains all but forgotten in his native country. Where then might one look for a monument or epitaph? In the North Transept of St Peter's Church, Burnham is the elaborate stained-glass window dedicated by Anne to the memory of her husband and other members his family showing scenes from the life of Christ.[2] The inscription states this was designed under her direction.

In *Lord Grenville; a Bibliography*, Harvey was only able to identify 7 individual portraits, including one which is the duplicate of the c.1800 painting by Hoppner in the National Portrait Gallery in the North Carolina Museum of Art.[3] The 240 caricatures and cartoons of, or including references to Grenville have been mentioned in Chapter I. [4] There may be a few further portraits in private family collections, but these would not add significantly to Harvey's tally. At 10 Downing Street and in the Home Office Grenville is represented only by the 1812 engraving by James Fittler of the Thomas Phillips portrait of Grenville in his robes as Chancellor of Oxford University.

The portrait by W. Owen in Christ Church, Oxford painted in 1812 is one on Harvey's list. 70 years after Grenville's death the author of a guide to the portraits in the College summarized his character as being 'Able, industrious, unsympathetic, and (except in his support of Catholic emancipation) not always consistent'.[5] This, in the college of which he was so fond, is a marker of the speed with which he was becoming erased from the national consciousness. Perhaps, with the current enthusiasm for expunging from history those who were involved in the Slave Trade, the University will do something to revive memories of one of its Chancellors who fought against it.

Harvey was only able to establish the location of one bust of Grenville, that by Nollekens, in the Royal Collection.[6] This commission gave rise to a satirical poem which gave a less than fair representation of Grenville.[7] He mentions, but was unable to locate two others, one by Comolli sold from Stowe in 1848 and a possibly posthumous sculpture by J Chapman. There are, in fact, a few more, one of a set of six busts of Grenville family members and associates, probably by Comolli, made for the Marble Hall at Dropmore and removed to Boconnoc in 1938. (fig. 122).

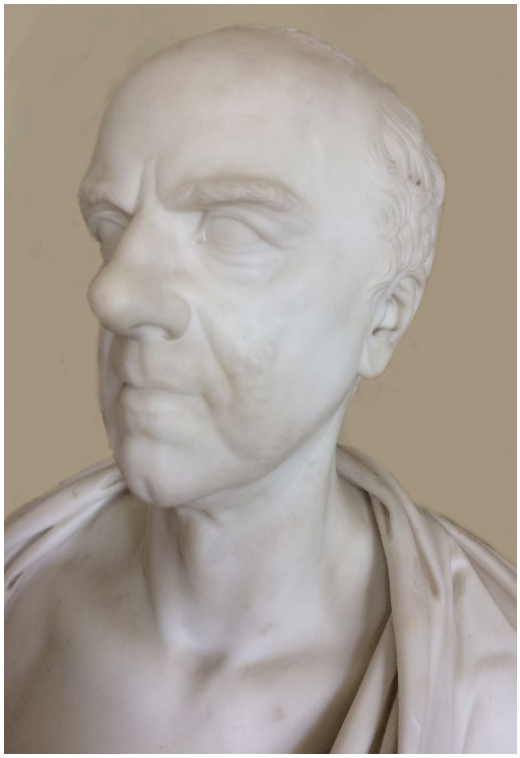

Figure 122; Grenville by Giovanni Batista Comolli working in London c 1820. [This date suggested by the NPG.] Private Collection. Photograph © Author.

Other members of the family may have had copies of the Comolli bust, for example, there is one at Elton Hall, Northamptonshire, the home of his sister Elizabeth and that sold from Stowe may well have been another. There is another Nollekens in the Upper Schools at Eton. This tally of paintings and sculptures does not amount to much, bearing in mind his achievements, as perhaps Grenville, modestly, would have wished.

There is no public monument. In a personal gesture an ancient Celtic way-side cross brought from Lanlivery, a mile and a half the other side of Lostwithiel from Boconnoc was set up by Fortescue in 1840. In Sowden's Valley [now the Valley Crucis] it is on a mound of spoil from the adit of one of the lead mines investigated, with high hopes, by Grenville in 1813. The double-hexagonal base bears the inscription 'The relick of a rude but pious age was placed here and inscribed with the loved and honoured name of William Wyndham Grenville, Lord Grenville, by his grateful nephew, G. M. F. MDCCCXL'. (fig. 123) The wheel-head cross, which is now a scheduled ancient monument, is appropriate for a man who saw himself guided by Christian principles all his life. In an out of the way location beside a side stream of the Lerryn, it looks down the valley to the entrance to Sowdens, arguably the most sensitive and evocative fragment of the estate. It is said that it was near here that Thomas Gray would sit in the shade of a storm-stricken beech tree on his visits to Benjamin Forster, the Parson.[8] It was there that Grenville tussled with his own thoughts, and with Bowen, over matters of taste, in an

attempt to square the practical aspects of good estate management with landscape improvement.[9] Above all, it has about it, the landscape and trees he loved so well and through which he found a measure of freedom; his emancipation from his profound sense of duty and the chains of office. It is the landscape, both at Dropmore and Boconnoc, which provides the most lasting tangible memorial to a remarkable man who set his country before himself and proved as warm in his friendships as he was cold in public office.

Figure 123; The Way-Side Cross erected by Fortescue to the memory of Grenville. 2007 © Jenny Hill-Norton.

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[1] Southey, Robert, *Words Spoken in the Theatre at Oxford Upon the Installation of Lord Grenville. [as Chancellor of the University] 1810; the Complete Works of Robert Southey* (London: Longman, 1847).
[2] Made by Lavers, Barraud & Westlake, in 1864, the year of Anne's death.
[3] Harvey, Arnold, *Lord Grenville; A Bibliography* (New Jersey: Meckler's Bibliographies of British Statesmen, 1989), 81.
[4] Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.* (London: British Museum, (Reprinted) 1979).
[5] Haverfield, F., *A Brief Guide to the Portraits in Christ Church Hall, Oxford. 3rd Edn.* (Oxford: 1907).
[6] Harvey, *Bibliography*, 82.
[7] Anon, *Hints to J Nollekens, Esq. Ra on His Modelling a Bust of Lord G******Le* (London: Spencer, 1808). And see Anon., "Review of 'Hints to J Nollekens Esq R.A. On His Modelling of a Bust of Lord G********' by R. Spencer.," *The Antijacobin Review*, 1808, 411. In this review the writer drew attention to the public perception of Grenville. 'We object to busts in general, as conveying no idea of life or animation to the beholder; but we admit, at the same time, that a bust of this nobleman will be particularly appropriate, since it will convey a very apt representation of the cold, inanimate original'.
[8] Rev. John Wallis, *The Cornwall Register* (Bodmin: 1847), 282.
[9] BL Add MS 58873, Dropmore Papers, f.30, Correspondence between Grenville and Anne, 1802-1828.

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- Papers of the Bernard family.
- Materials relating to the local history of Burnham and Taplow Area.

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- Papers relating to the management of their estates in Cornwall.
- Materials relating to the local history of Boconnoc, Braddock and St Winnow.

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Eton College.
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- Add MS 58902. Correspondence between Anne and Tom.
- Add MS 59440 to 59445. Correspondence between Grenville and John Bowen, Agent at Boconnoc.
- Add MS 59446. Correspondence between Grenville and Thomas Crawfurd his Agent and William Pond, gardener.
- Add MS 59451. Correspondence between Grenville and Wilson Chisholme, Solicitor.
- Add MS 59488. Camelford Correspondence with Revd. Benjamin Forster.
- Add MS 59551 to 59553. Correspondence between Grenville and Thomas Coutts and Coutts Bank.
- Add MS 69040 & 69041. Correspondence between Grenville and Tom.
- Add MS 69042 & 69043. Correspondence between Lord and Lady (George) Grenville and Camelford and Lady Camelford and Correspondence between Buckingham and Camelford and Lady Camelford.
- Add MS 69042. Correspondence between Grenville and Camelford
- Add MS 69047. Correspondence between Anne and the Revd. E Gilbert and his wife Anne Gilbert of Bodmin Priory.
- Add MS 69050 to 69064. Correspondence between Anne and Fortescue.
- Add MS 69151. Grenville's drafts of *Dropmore: The Essays.*
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The Emancipation of William Wyndham Grenville (1759 - 1834):

The Life of Lord Grenville in the English Landscape

Vol. II/II
Appendices.

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(Min Wood)

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath
Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering

November 2018

Copyright

Declaration under Regulation 16. 5. (k).

This thesis develops and applies the author's ideas produced in 'The Search for Elysium: The Naturesque in England and Wales, 1743–1843', submitted towards the degree of Master of Philosophy at the University of Bristol, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, October 2010. The author has also made use of material prepared by him in the course of this research, published as: Wood, Min. "On Design and Process", Chapter 5, *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. Dr Marion Harney, Oxford: Wiley, 2014. The author has also lodged a report with Cornwall Record Office at AD 2531 'Boconnoc: the Braddock Down Plantations' (2 volumes), 2017.

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Appendix 1: A Father's Advice

Camelford to Anne
BL Add MS 69290, f. 15

[This undated note, which seems to have been handed to Anne rather than posted, was written at some time before December 13 1790; when Lord Camelford wrote to Grenville from Boconnoc saying that he had handed two letters from him to Anne and forwarding her reply refusing engagement [both untraced]. It is probable that the note was written before Grenville's letter of the 24 November announcing his elevation to the peerage reached Boconnoc since he refers to Grenville as Mr B, and makes no reference to his new position. It appears from his letter that, having kept her opinions to herself for some time she at last had a good heart to heart with her parents on the subject, perhaps in response to the note at BL Add MS 69042, f.63 (below).]

My dear Girl,
I do not wonder at your difficulty in conversing with your Mother and me upon the subject that now occupies your mind as freely as upon any other. It is a reserve natural to your age and sex, and I am far from finding fault with you for it. I have perceived also that even our talking to you upon the subject distresses you; and I am sure I would not cost you a moment's unnecessary pain if I could help it. At the same time I feel it my duty to communicate to you the helps of my experience to assist your judgment, tho I would not for the World influence your choice against the bias of your inclination. I have determined upon this mode therefore of addressing you that it may be at the same time less embarrassing to you, and of more advantage to you, as it gives you the opportunity of considering at your leisure the weight of such arguments as I have to offer, and of ruminating upon them.
I need not tell you that your happiness is mine – that I can have no wish so near my heart, as that your decision upon so important a step that must probably give the colour to your whole life, may ensure to you every comfort that the precarious and uncertain lot of humanity can promise to the most fortunate of us.
As Inclination is entirely a matter of caprice, and is at the same time an ingredient essentially necessary in such a connection, it would be tyranny in me, and certainly madness in you, to suffer any consideration whatever to force your inclination, if you feel the smallest degree of repugnance towards the person of the man with whom you are to pass your life. Such marriages begin with disgust, degenerate very soon into aversion, and lead to every thing that is unhappy to both parties. I should have felt at any time of my life obliged to the woman who had refused me at the altar, if she had delay'd to that moment the avowal of her dislike towards me.
But tho it is of first consequence that there should be no repugnance towards the person you marry, allow me to say that nothing is more romantic than the notion that you must never marry till you find an object of the most violent passion. Believe me when I assure you that in my own observation, tho I do not know that I ever saw an instance of a happy marriage that began in disgust of either party, yet for one happy connection of that kind formed upon the Basis alone of Passion, I have seen a hundred miserable. How can it be wonder'd at when the

most important choice of your life is made under the delusion that deprives reason of all its functions? Every thing to a man in love is exaggerated, every thing is couleur de rose – you very shortly wake from this gay vision to the reality in sober sadness; the enchantment vanishes and the regret of the disappointment too often in that case depreciates the object even below its real value.

The basis of married happiness must not be founded in passion but in reason; it is to be a state of tender animated friendship and confidence in each other; not a state of enthusiastic rapture & romance which is fit only for poetry & the heated imagination of the minute. Every body would wish in their choice to unite every desirable circumstance in their highest perfection, and to make no sacrifice whatever – this is again visionary and romantic – there is no good without some deficiency, and in every thing in this world be it what you will you will find qu'il faut opter.

In general the great objects held out by parents to their daughters are rank and fortune, because the parents think they derive to themselves some part of the consideration that is supposed to accrue from such establishments; whilst the more solid advantages that belong to personal character have no brilliancy attach'd to them, and can affect only the happiness of the contracting parties, at least it is too often tho falsely so estimated. Rank & fortune are in some degree deserving a consideration in prudence as necessary ingredients in the married state for without competence, a scene of perpetual distress would poison all the comforts of domestic life, and rank that increases the consideration of the husband in the eyes of the world, cannot but be pleasing to the wife who places her chief pride in her husband's glory. But a rank that only exposes the folly or ill qualities of a husband to public contempt or hatred, will but ill gratify the vanity of a feeling wife; and the fortune of a Nabob that is ill spent, will derive no comfort to any part of his family.

There is a consideration derived from talents and situation which in every Country, but in this more especially, is infinitely more looked up to than any lustre that wealth or title can bestow; and with us this consideration is not destroy'd by loss of situation. The name of W: Pitt was resounded not only in every Parish in England, but in every Court in Europe, whilst he was hardly able to keep up the expence of a commoner in his little retreat at Hayes, whilst the Duke of Norfolk was scarcely known to exist outside his own County.

The sound of Your Grace may flatter the ears of a silly woman the first fortnight; but it soon becomes as familiar as Miss Pitt and ceases to be perceived by the person it is applied to. A magnificent establishment and numerous retinue dazzles the eyes of the vulgar who see nothing but the splendor of it, but afford nothing after a very short exhultation of vanity to the owner but infinite addition of plague and embarrassment to the person who has the care of it.

There is another thing I have often told you that sounds like a paradox, that nothing is so rare as to see that Riches make the owner Rich. The only man who can be said to be rich is the man who has a superfluity always at his disposal, this prudence frequently provides to those of middling fortune, but very seldom to the overgrown possessions. The neglect of their own affairs, the depredations of every thing around them, the expectations of the World in proportion to the means they are supposed to possess, that become in some sort expences necessary to their situation, together with their own turn for luxury and extravagance, commonly leave them at the end of the year with debt rather than superfluity, and instead of being able to answer the calls of generosity, it is well if they can satisfy the just demands of

tradesmen and creditors without mean shifts and delays. Your experience will prove to you the truth of this observation.
It is certain therefore that you would not be the happier for marrying the Duke of Bedford, were it in your option to do so, unless the character of the man were such as to ensure what neither his Rank or Fortune could bestow upon you. If then a man offers to you who is not disagreeable to you in person, and who possesses the essential requisites to happiness in his personal qualities, all you need to look for beyond them is a decent honourable competence, with such a rank in the world as shall put you upon a footing with your equals.
Of those personal qualities the first undoubtedly is what is call'd principle, that virtuous basis of character without which every other quality is built upon sand, and nothing worth.
The two other requisites are sense and temper and it should seem that they are both essential in the same degree. Without good temper good sense will give you little comfort, whilst you are exposed to all the storms of violence, or the hourly vexations of peevishness. The woman must be to look up to her husband for the whole colour of her lot – she may have afflictions he cannot avert from her, but she can scarce have any enjoyment that she does not derive from him.
Allow me now to make the application of the maxims I have been laying down to you; and I think in doing so I discharge my duty to you in the same manner as I should do in warning you of the consequences of an unhappy choice were I so unfortunate as to see you under the influence of passion inclined to throw away your happiness upon an unworthy object. It is my part in both cases to assist your inexperience with my lights; it is yours alone to decide for yourself upon those lights in the most important concern of your life.
Mr G: possess the three great essentials of character in a degree that I will fairly tell you I believe you may never find again in the same person as long as you live. His extraordinary judgment and talents have raised him already to that situation (perhaps the second man at this time in the King's Government) which at his age is almost without example except in the person of the first Minister his friend and collegue who is the wonder of his age [Chatham]. His temper from a child has render'd him the darling of all his family. The mildness and gentleness of his nature, temper'd with that firmness which belongs to a manly character, promises to you every thing that can at the same time guide protect and direct you, whilst it endears his authority to you by the tenderest and most affectionate treatment.
To these solid advantages are added the comforts of a decent competence with oeconomy, even if in the present moment he were to be deprived of the emoluments of office. He would even then have a clear income of £3000 p:ann which would amply suffice for the expences of a reduced scale of living. To this income would be added upon the death of a person above threescore, and infirm, an annuity of 2,600 p:ann and if the present Administration continues till some sinecure should become vacant, perhaps an augmentation of as much more. Whilst in his present situation his office yields him £ 5000p:ann.
His birth, as you know, and his connections are such as the first part party in England need not aspire to anything better; and his positive rank will be equal at least to anything you have a right to pretend to, without looking forward to such augmentation of honours as cannot fail to fall in his way in the political career of one who has already advanced so far in it at the age of thirty.

I will now state to you the objections in point of prudence to this choice; for as to inclination you know I disclaim entirely having any thing to say upon the subject.
I suppose the joint stock upon your marriage will amount to about £60,000, 50,000 will be settled upon the children after your deaths, and in the mean time a jointure to you in case you survive your husband, as in the course of nature you well may. Now, tho this would secure you a sufficient income for your life of from £2000 to £2,500 p:ann, it may happen (tho God forbid) that you might be left a young widow with many children; in which case your income would be almost the only resource of your offspring. This is a possibility which I confess, tho not likely to happen, gives me anxious thoughts whenever it occurs to my mind. It is a risque to be run that would make it necessary for you to refuse yourself more than the mere necessaries of life that you might provide for the education, and for the advancement of your children. It is true that as Mr G cannot fail in a few years to have an income sufficient to enable him to lay by annually out of his savings, this risque will be diminished every year; but then this saving likewise will demand a perpetual attention to oeconomy that does not seem, at least at present, to be very much your natural turn.
It is also extremely to be wished that there was a provision for an eldest son exclusive of the £50,000 which in that case would be an ample fund for younger children. Many opportunities however may offer in the course of Mr G:'s life to make such a provision; at all events an elder son with such advantages of birth and connection cannot fail of making his way in any profession he may engage in.
I have now my dear Girl discharg'd my duty in laying before you what occurs to me as necessary to form your judgment. Do not imagine that I wish to persuade you one way or another; your happiness is at stake, and I would not be responsible for it for the World. Your decision must be free and unbias'd and you must put us out of the question entirely. God direct you for the best!

Camelford to the now ennobled Lord Grenville (raised to the peerage as Baron Grenville of Wotton-under-Bernewood on 24 November 1790).
BL Add MS 69042, f. 63

Boconnoc Dec 13 1790
My dear Lord,
You will easily believe me when I tell you how much it costs me to deny myself the pleasure we should have in accepting your offer of cheering our solitude during the holidays. It would certainly be agreeable to us, as it would be flattering to the principal object of it. I gave both letters together into my daughter's hands, and bid her read them in her own room, and return to me with the answer she wished to make. She did return and desired me in the civilest manner to decline the honour of the visit. As I explained to her that it was necessary for me to speak her sentiments not mine, I desired her to let me know the motives that made her so determine. You are enough acquainted with the diffidence of her manner to conceive that it never easy to bring her to open herself upon such a subject. I at last ask'd her whether she was influenced in this decision by motives that affected her own feelings, or those that might affect the opinions of others: in a word whether her caution proceeded from the fear of

pledging herself too far by or, or of giving too much countenance to the reports that were current with the public? She replied Both. That she thought the world would have a right to suppose her engagement by so public an avowal of your attentions to her, and that after such an encouragement she should not herself hardly feel that she was at liberty. [Anne was then 18, b. 1772] I relate this my dear Lord with the utmost naiveté as it passed, as I think it is right that you should be as it were present at what passes upon the subject. Allow me only to add that as things are circumstanced, I cannot totally condemn her judgement, tho' it deprives me in this instance of a pleasure and satisfaction that would have been very dear to me. Lady Camelford desires her kind compliments and joins her regret with mine as well as the assurances of the sincere attachment with which I am my dear Lord, faithfully and most affectionately yours. Camelford.

Appendix 2: From BL Add MS 58873

Indecipherable entries noted as ***.
Square Brackets indicate Archival notations and informatives.
Round Brackets indicate where the writers included drawings.
…. Indicates passages omitted.

Appendix 2 a: Fragments from Correspondence between Grenville and Anne, between 1802 and 1804

f. 1. Ramsgate, October 13 1802.
My Dearest Angel,
I arrived here yesterday after a perfectly prosperous journey. …I was delighted with some of the views of the long reaches of the River between Greenwich & Dartford, tho' they were not new to me. I heartily wished to have had you with me yesterday when I passed a full hour in Canterbury Cathedral. It would have pleased you very much. I cannot conceive how I can have so often passed it by unnoticed. In order to do more honour to Beckett's shrine which stood in the chapel behind the altar, that, & the altar, & the Choir, have each been raised one flight of steps so that as you go up there are less than seventeen steps from the body of the church to the screen at the entrance of the Choir. The effect is really beautiful – but very much remains to be done, or rather undone in order to restore it to its full effect. The whole Choir is deformed by a villainous oak wainscot, with an altar-piece of the same, thro' which a modern window! has been made first over the altar in order to let in a view of the chapel beyond, which is however so beautiful that I am persuaded even this monstrous deformity is a real improvement with some heavy curtain or bad picture which probably hung there before & and excluded or view of what was behind. … God bless you my dearest wife,

f. 3. Walmer October 18, 1802,
I arrived here yesterday & found Pitt, as they all agree, much better, but certainly still looking very thin & and by no means well. It is however necessary for us to make the best it, as a crisis seems fast approaching in which I am now confident it will not be possible for any man but him to carry us thro' with any tolerable chance of success. I set out on Friday from this place and shall come along the coast to Brighton, but as if the weather is tolerably fine I mean to perform the whole on horseback, it may perhaps take me four days, and it certainly cannot be less than three, as I find it will be not less than 95 miles. If the rain which we have got today should continue, I shall put myself with Talbot into my chaise, and so will be with you on Saturday. We shall hardly be able to prolong our stay much at Brighton, as I find that the King's speech will be on the 22nd, & I cannot avoid coming to town towards the 18th – but I see nothing (as far as anything can be counted on in such a moment as this) to prevent our making another visit to Brighton during your mother's stay there. [Anne Wilkinson, Lady Camelford died at Camelford House 5th May 1803]

f. 4. Walmer, October 21, 1802
My dearest love,
I go from here tomorrow, and as there is every appearance of fine weather I shall make the journey on horseback, which I think will hardly bring me (with a due attention to your friend Chestnuts convenience) sooner to Brighton than Monday, & then my project is that after a day or two there we should go home by Chichester, & so thro' Goodwood & Petworth to Guildford & Windsor back to the fishponds - I had a delightful ride yesterday, and walked out with Pitt over his farm, which is not merely land which he occupies for convenience near his house, but a real farm of five or six hundred acres which he has taken on the remainder of a lease of only three years, and at three miles off. As it will afford him exercise & amusement it is very good, for he seems to take the greatest possible interest in it – but I have not much faith in the profit of such a speculation. In the meantime it seems certain that we shall have immediate War, & I have no conception that it can be carried on under any other management than his, tho' I do not feel sure that Addington may not have the silly vanity to make the attempt…
God bless you my dear little woman.

f. 5. Pall Mall, Friday [pencil 1802?]
[Grenville explains that he will be tied up in London and asks Anne whether she would like to come up from time to time or whether they should find somewhere in London to live.] 'A very small house would I should think answer our purpose, with a couple of tent beds that we may either buy or bring up from Dropmore'and as a PS 'have you any preference as to situation – we should be more likely to find something tolerably clean higher up: & in the neighbourhood of Cumberland Place you to ask my sisters'. There is discussion about travelling from Dropmore to London AG has the use of a chaise but there are problems of getting the right staff in the right place. He writes 'pray take care the coachman comes up as soon as ever he is able to travel. They are making a dawdle about it with *** – I cannot well send the horses to meet you, not having anyone to drive them except the groom.'

f. 7
13 April [pencil 1803. Dropmore
Many thanks for your note my dearest love – I find there is, as you imagined, a bother about my brother's motions [Tom]. It seems however still not quite impossible that he may come here <u>next</u> Friday or Saturday. My project is to remain here till Monday, but if I can be of the least use or comfort to you pray let me know it. I rejoice that your brothers return [Thomas] puts an end to our uneasiness on that head. The evergreens are all planted, & we have left in the Evergreen garden, the breadth of the centre walk, & quite up to the hedge – but I think we are wrong, & that had Portugal at the back, and near the hedge would give shelter to any seat we may put there - but I did not dare do this without orders. The violets are planted in the same border.

f. 8. Friday [pencil May 15 April 1803?]
My cold is much better, but I think I shall not come back until Monday. We had here yesterday a great deal of hail mixed with snow, & all the ground is still covered with it today, but it is much milder today & and the snow is melting fast. The little birds come to the front of the arcade as a Christmas, and two <u>thrushes</u>, as I think they are, are so bold as hardly to mind me. I was out a little yesterday before the snow began & am going out well great coated again today. I am happy to hear so good an account from you – if the cold winds do not throw her back the spring may do essential service.

f. 10. April 15, 1803
I have rec'd this morning a letter from Hammond inclosing one from Ld Whitworth to him on the subject of the steps he had taken for your brother's release, which is so far satisfactory, that it shows there was no other cause for his detention except general suspicions arising from his passport, & the circumstances of his coming over in some ship different from the common packet. …. [Thomas had gone to France, possibly to murder members of the Directory, but was arrested]. We had planted all the Portugal, & it is not worth sending for more on purpose. The sweetbriar hedges are finished, & the honeysuckles in the two square borders will be done today – what did you mean for the two, that answer to them at the other end of the garden? The Evergreen border really looks quite pretty already, tho' it does not yet make a very fine bank or give much shelter.

f. 14. Tuesday night [pencil 18th of April 1803]
I find that I shall be obliged to be here both Thursday and Friday morning and I have therefore given up all idea of coming down tomorrow. I have sent this messenger with the chaise that you may come to town if you like it, if not he will return with it. PS I shall sleep at Holwood tomorrow, but must be in town again on Thursday morning so follow your own fancies.

f. 16. [pencil ? 8th May 1804]
I think I may probably be down with you tomorrow by dinner to stay till Tuesday, but this is still in some degree uncertain.
It is a strange thing that they have done yesterday in the H of Lords of which you will see an account in the paper. The Chr saw the K on Sunday, but on the Saturday (I think I know with certainty) the K was much deranged. How can a man in such a state be fit to transact public business the next day? …

Appendix 2 b: The 1813 Correspondence between Grenville, at Boconnoc, and Anne, taking the waters at Malvern

f. 19. Woodstock, Anne, Tuesday night [pencil ? 31st of August 1813].
I arrived here between four and five after a most prosperous journey. I have been all the evening walking over Blenheim. How much I wanted you, you will guess. I was a little disappointed with the view of the house as you enter the gate. The house looks sunk which I at first attributed to the growth of trees but upon looking again I saw it was owing to the loss of the Cupolas. They are all gone, & you may suppose how they are missed. It entirely alters the effect of the house. I think you may be content with a squir in your walk when that is not a straight line opposite the great front of Blenheim (drawing). There is a caricature of a flower garden made at one of the ends without a straight walk in it with a great number of immense round beds filled with course annuals running wild. The old flower garden is turned into a pheasantry & tho'it is not well done it has renewed all my desire for Pheasants. Beside those in the pens there are quantities of gold and silver quite loose no enclosure of any sort & they come without being fed close-up to you & dance about. They really seem proud of showing themselves & are much brighter coloured & finer than those that are confined. The

silver look almost as big as Pea fowl. The man says they lose a great many by their wanderings but there certainly are enough left to make it quite beautiful. The coops are semi-circular ugly from the bottom & frames being of board painted white the front wire the tops & divisions nett. At the back of the enclosed places where they sleep (drawing). The walk by the water is beautiful but the effect much hurt by the quantities of weeds that have lately grown up in spite of all they can do to prevent it. To the degree that in the lake you trace a canal by its being the only part free from weeds where the old river ran & where it is therefore very deep. At Oxford there seems to have been a good deal of rubbish cleared away by the bridge. But I am sorry to tell you the old elms by St John's are cut down. To comfort me one man told me they were going to set young ones & another a thorough *** in nature said if I had my will every tree in the street should be cut down & I heard him muttering as I walked on what do they want with trees. I only walked on from the Inn a little way while they were watering the horses so I saw nothing else but it looked beautiful this fine day. I don't know whether I shall get more reconciled but at present I am like a fish out of water without you. I hardly know what I write for the man worries one every moment for my letter. Pray make haste out of the mine. Di [dog] is universally admired. Think of the Porter seeing by my face I was a dog fancier & instantly producing a <u>beauty</u> of a spaniel puppy & and think of my fortitude in refusing it.

f. 22. Anne, Malvern, Sept ? [pencil 1813].
I arrived here this evening a little before dusk but as it has rained I cannot much judge of the situation. It is not so high as I expected & the near ground not very pretty tho'I dare say the distance in clear weather is fine. The house is not large & seems clean and comfortable. The three rooms lay close together & are very airy the sitting room looks to the garden (where there are arbours & beyond to the view. There seem to be neat dry walks about the house. The only objections I have discovered are that the Well is rather farther off than I would wish, 500 yards, & that the water is not used in the house. If I wish it I dare say I shall be able to move to the Rock House which looks like a great frightful red cotton mill & whose only recommendation I believe is being close to the Well. ….. There is nothing very striking in the Vale of Evesham except the quantity of pears. If this reaches you at Ivybridge you had better try to get Plymouth horses to take you to Liskard. Mr Pole Carew told me everybody did & that the Tor Point horses are always wretched….

f. 24. Grenville, Butleigh, September 3rd 1813.
I got your kind letter here yesterday evening, & I need not tell you how much I was obliged to you for it. We got to Bath in 10 hours without the least difficulty and passed the John Kings on the road. I saw Mr Fielden & the house the next morning. I'm quite concerned by his statement of the prices of other houses that we must not look to make more of it than he has stated. There has been in the course of the year a great fall in that sort of property there as in London – & I really think that even if my attention had not been directed to the subject I should have been struck with the number of bills in the windows of houses in the best situations there. I have authorised him to let the house £140 a year or even £135 if he can get it, the tenant paying all taxes except property tax. He says he has had no offers to buy, & seems to think that there are so many houses to be sold now that our chance of selling would

be but small. It may therefore be better to wait for the chance of more favourable times for the disposal of that sort of property. But if he has any tolerable offer he will let me know of it. He turns out to be a considerable builder, not as I had fancied a mere working carpenter – & says his father and himself built the greatest number of the houses thereabouts and ours among them. We got here the next morning thro' that most beautiful country which I always see with fresh admiration. I think Ld G [Glastonbury] remarkably flourishing – his mother much less well, but tolerably so for him. They have done a great deal here in walks, & have really improved the comfort of the place very much. There is a walk by the side of an old hedge which they have turned into a plantation leaving four or five openings under old pollard Oaks to the hills about Wells & Glastonbury & so on westward has really an exceedingly good effect, by dividing & framing that beautiful picture.We have arranged to stay here today & to get to Boconnoc on Monday, so that we may see the dockyard if we please, but I think the breakwater seems out of the question without boating in the ***, the effect of which on all three of us would probably be much the same as that at the mouth of Fowey harbour. So ends my budget of news. Tom is here, uncommonly stout & and walked all over the country. ….. Take great care of yourself for my sake. Zephyr desires his duty to dear Mistress & love to Di.

f. 26. Anne, Malvern, Sept 6 [pencil 1813].
I hope you have not had such a day of storm & rain for Plymouth and your journey as we have had here. We went yesterday to Eastnor Castle, no longer Castle Ditch [its name until the seventeenth century]. The drive from here is beautiful. I am not sure that the place tho'it seems very enjoyable quite answered my expectations. The hills are well clothed but there seems rather a want of fine old trees. The building is upon a magnificent scale & seems extremely well executed & with a rapidity that is quite wonderful. It is hardly a year & a half since the first stone was laid & in some parts they are beginning to put on the roof which is entirely of iron & said to be as cheap as wood cut down upon the spot. (see drawing in the manuscript), These at the distance of 10 ft are united by small round bars. The whole comes fitted ready to put together from Manchester. I cannot reconcile myself to the shape of the towers at the corners instead of being round, they are at this shape (see drawing in the manuscript) which seems to me to do nothing but prevent any broad effect of light. It is curious to see so large a building going on without any appearance of scaffold the whole is done from within. The windows are a mixture of round & pointed arches. There will be a broad terrace round it at the foot of which on one side I'm sorry to say they are making a puddle. The hill it stands upon is nothing & it certainly is by no means a situation for a Castle tho' I think a very pleasant one for a house in any other style. It is cased with a beautiful greyish stone from the Forest of Dean. The walls are of limestone raised on the spot which takes a very good polish & makes a pretty grey mantle for common purposes. It is raised in large pieces & would be excellent for pavements. Lord Somers is gone to Hereford for a few days & nothing was said of my going there till you come, their present house is small & seemed to be quite full. This suits me very well Lord Hardwicke set out today for Wynnstay. I do not quite understand the reason of their being here they all drink the water now and then but do not seem to make that their object. Having nothing better to do I am hesitating in Lord Fortescue's style about the lodging. Half Malvern goes away at the end of this week & I may

then spread myself here where people are all civility & attention & where there is a large garden but the chimneys smoke so that it is hardly possible to have a fire in any part of the house. Or I may go to the Rock House (which is not the great boarding house I first took for it) ~~which is~~ close to the well where no other water is used & where the rooms & furniture are better but it is more public & the people not so civil. I believe however that I must in spite of my tenderness to Mr Springton go there as in the long run the distance from the Well is very inconvenient & will be more so later in the year.

f. 28. Grenville. Boconnoc , Monday morning [pencil ? 6 Sept 1813].
We got to Exeter from Butleigh between two and 3 o'clock, & resolved therefore to go on as far as Ashburton – & this brought us here with great ease by about four yesterday – we had a delightful day for crossing at Plymouth. We were rowed for more than an hour, & I never saw it in greater beauty. The road from Tor Point here is really much better than I have ever seen it, except the last mile over the Downs. I think you will like the approach down the lawn when you see it. It is nearly finished to the Iron Gate but not quite. The squir in the h was occasioned by Lertes [a dog] whom I had not seen last night, & who while I am writing this in the library bolted upstairs & into my lap, howling for joy. She is very lean but not more than usual.The fish arrived safe & are deposited with their two cousins. I had only time last night to walk to the plantations on the lawn, & just down to the mine to look at the engine, which not regarding Sunday was at work tho' the men of course were about & might really make a very picturesque circumstance in the landscape if it were not for the rubbish of the Earth etc thrown about. The plantations are wonderfully grown (those over the lawn I mean) since last year. Pond says he has never seen such a year for the growth of everything & amongst them he himself is grown quite fat.

f. 30. Grenville, Boconnoc September 6, 1813.
I'm just returned from a very long walk over the greatest part of the park & place. One thing has vexed me thoroughly. In order to meet the demands for the Dawna & other buildings in point of timber Bowen has cut more than I fear you would have liked, or than I should have myself approved, & two or three trees which from their situation I fear you would miss very much. It is thoroughly provoking. I am sure he did not mean to do wrong, but I think he has had too much an idea that he was to follow his own taste, & a worse he could not follow. I have scolded him till I almost put myself in a passion & till he almost cried, but the mischief is irremediable. I heartily wish you were here to see it, tho' I know it would vex you – but I am afraid of your thinking it worse than it is, & fretting about it more than the thing is really worth, & yet I cannot help mentioning it to you. It is not that any of the best trees are cut, but that several indifferent ones are taken out in situations where they will be missed – one in particular, at the very top of the Grove near the House, & another near the opening of Sowden's Valley, & one or two others in cases of less importance, but still where they are missed.There are other enormities, arising from the same unfortunate love of doing, but as they may be undone again the evil does not extend beyond a little money very foolishly thrown away in doing what a little more must now be spent in undoing. Among these is a wall fence, instead of a rail or hurdle fence as we had ordered, across the very entrance into Sowden's. But this you will never see, as its demolition is to be begun upon tomorrow. I

rather hope that what has passed this morning will be a lesson to him to abstain from such folly hereafter, & to content himself with the more humbler merit of doing what he is desired, instead of improving for us. If it does not he and I must part. And this I should be sorry for, because I really think he means the best, & has our interest very much at heart, in the management of the property. I believe I told you last night (or rather this morning) that the grievance of the thistles on the lawn has increased. I must do something about it probably that something will be to incur a trifling expense in having them sworded over once a year at the time of their flowering. All the young plantations look remarkably well, & have evidently been very much attended to by Pond. That behind the fir clump in the park, & the other near Helstone have been planted this year, & look uncommonly well for the first year. Nothing is done as to bringing forward the line of plantation as we have marked it on the top, except that the line itself has been very carefully marked and preserved & great part of the furze stubbed. Part of this will of course be done this winter. The part which was before planted is as thriving as possible, & that on Hearne's Hill has grown more than I could have supposed since last year. I have not much to say yet about the mine. I rather fear that I am come too soon for bringing the matter to any point within such time as I can think of staying here without you. It is impossible to express how I miss you, & particularly today when these things have put me a little out of sorts, & when I vex myself more about them with thinking that they would plague you if you were here.The road up Helstone bottom is entirely formed, & about one half or rather less is stoned. This of all that I have seen today is what has pleased me best. You will I am sure like it extremely. The line is easy & natural & the ascent very gradual, & in going down the view is extremely well shown. It is really a very striking improvement. The obelisk plantations are visibly grown since last year, & for the most part may I think be considered as established. It is just in the centre front division that there are worst, as they always were – but here too I think they have taken. The mine is not yet down to more than 11 fathoms & they are now not working deeper but enlarging the shaft to straiten the working of the pump. It seems doubtful whether when this is done I ought or not to work along that lode without waiting to go deeper. It improves as it deepens.

f. 36. Grenville, Boconnoc, September 7, 1813.12 o'clock.
I am sorry to say that my walk after breakfast has increased my vexation and your's. The group which we were so fond of under the Beech walk, where the brook makes a turn is reduced to one naked tree & what makes this worse is, that it is impossible not to see that this has been done, not even from a mistaken view of our interest, but from his own detestable taste to open a glade to a window of his house, & to his new woodhouse (for such I know it is & not a stable) both which now stare you in the face from the bench we have put to see the group of trees and the Brook. The woodhouse must absolutely come down, but that will not set up the trees. I should fret less about all this for myself vexatious as it is but it does grieve me when I think of the pleasure you had in this place to see it so much injured by the folly & vanity of this Blockhead, & by my own overconfidence in thinking he had a judgement & discretion which he has so provokingly abused. It is I must own very much my own fault, but that does not make it less vexatious to me, but much more so. What to do with the fellow himself I really know not – you must advise me. As yet I have not temper to talk to him again about that or anything else.

f. 40. Anne, Malvern Sept [pencil 8 September 1813].
I merely write a line that you may not think I am lost. We have had bad weather that has confined my journey to the Well & the terrace adjoining it. Lord Hardwicke & I were to have gone to Worcester today but the rain prevented us. I find it has been the same at Dropmore I tell you this to comfort you as I dare say you have had your share. Plant has written to me for leave to move the books out of the gallery "as she finds she cannot secure them there". I fancy she means from dust. I shall write to enquire about it. I hear nothing of progress made. The paper hanger has done nothing since we came away. I had a letter last night from Miss Paulett [daughter of General Vere Paulett] to invite us to Addington [Bucks] to her wedding. I wrote to them both. I shall be very impatient for Boconnoc news. Do not fag yourself.

f.42. Grenville, Boconnoc Wednesday, [pencil 8 Sept 1813].
I am grieved to tell you that the mischief done here particularly in the Grove by Bowen's folly is more than I thought it yesterday – I had not been in the Beech Walk where it shows most, & I can hardly say how much my walk before breakfast there has vexed & irritated me. Besides what he has done there, he has actually pulled down the old stable at the Parsonage (that you will say is no great harm for I meant it to go) but he has built another in the same place tho' he could not be ignorant that this is what we had repeatedly refused to let Sharman do. I went to the Parsonage & and have rated him about it, till I find I quite lost my temper & grew ashamed of myself – I am now come home to brood upon it, & I really know not what to do. My confidence in him is very much shaken by this conduct. If he was aware of the impropriety of his conduct it argues an obstinacy and perverseness of temper which are but bad qualities in a man necessarily entrusted with so much power, & left so long to himself. If it is only folly, that again is a sad recommendation for the exercise of a discretion which we have so little means of limiting. I have given him very plainly to understand that I am (as I really am) in very great doubt whether this last instance of misconduct, which I had not discovered until I walked there an hour ago, does not make it absolutely necessary for us to look out for some other agent to put here in his place. Yet there are a thousand considerations against it, & on the whole I really know not what to do – it will take little less than the disposable labour of another whole year to undo all the absurdities he has been doing here, & it would alas take a century instead of a year to replace the trees he has wantonly destroyed. What to do I really know not – & I am so much vexed, that I heartily wish I was away out of the sight of so much matter of irritation. It does not seem kind to wish you here with me when I feel it painful to be myself without you. But it adds much to my vexation that I have to describe all this to you, & to plague you with imagining at a distance what is so mortifying to me to see. I have told him that I should immediately demolish the stable, as I had already ordered him to do with the wall at Sowden's – but then I must have to build it up somewhere else, as I always knew it would be necessary to do & really the expense of all this doing & undoing at a place which we see so little & when the necessary works and our own improvements amount to so much, does a little frightened me – I believe when I get a little cooler I shall think it best to let the stable remain till you see it, & and in the meantime only try to plant it out – but it is & always will be a great eyesore. At all counts I think I shall leave it for your opinion and yet it is quite harassing to me to think how you will be vexed when

you see the loss of the trees in the Grove. It is not that he has there cut any (I believe absolutely none) of the good ones, but those that are taken have made gaps, & spoilt the outline both at the top, & along the valley in a way that I can hardly bear to look at. How vexatious it is to me to send you these fretful and irritated workings of my mind, instead of telling you as I had hoped, that nothing was wanting but your society to make this solitude as delightful to me as it has always been! I delight in thinking that the Hardwicke's had to stay some time at Malvern. Their society will I hope be a real pleasure to you. The Dawna Wood mine does not seem to promise anything worth pursuing. All the vexation I endure here disposes me strongly to take the first possible moment for pushing the other mine along its course, so as to form some judgement whether it can in that direction but worked to profit. It would be childish to let my feelings operate so as to bring this matter prematurely to a point but I really am inclined to hope that this may be done now quite as reasonably, as if I waited longer. The captain of the mine says that it will take a month to go two fathoms deeper – & the only inducement to do so is that the lode improves as we descend so that the issue of the trial is more likely to be satisfactory there, than it is now. But surely I can allow for this in any judgement or decision that I form about it. In a question cursorily put yesterday it seemed as if the expense of working in that direction at the present depth would be about half of the gross produce – perhaps less, but I should think it certainly not more, so that there can be a little doubt of repaying ourselves the charges are incurred, & of doing better as we go on. But till this is actually begun upon, & put in a course of trial by experiment I distrust all conjecture & just now I have hardly patience to talk with Bowen about these matters.

I must however recollect that what is done cannot be recalled, & must make the best of it, but most heartily vexed I certainly am. God bless you my dearest love, & make yourself happy & well – you will be glad to hear that tho' I was yesterday & the night before a little heated with my journey I think myself quite well today. It rained much yesterday, & is now pouring in torrents which promise to last the whole day – they have had till now a most unusually dry season so they say, but I am persuaded it always rains here. Many thanks to you for your dear letters. Your description of the Horse –puppy makes me wish you had brought him, tho' I should not much like him to carry you off at the tail of the Berkeley hounds, or care of the Duke of Cumberland's harriers. You see we are to be blessed with his HRH's presence in England again. I have not seen Rhind [Gardener] – they tell me he is at times quite childish.

f. 50. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept 8 1813.
I send you a very penitent letter from Bowen which I have received this morning. I had not seen him yesterday after the first expressions of my resentment, & indeed I told him, as the truth was, that I was too angry to continue the conversation. I shall feel some difficulty in seeing him this morning but after all I must not let this folly, extravagant as it has been, & vexatious enough & more than enough to me, & what I feel much more deeply, to you in its result, prove his utter ruin which must be the consequence both to himself & to his family if I give way to my feelings & dismiss him my service –
I believe indeed he is sorry enough for what he has done, but that unhappily will not remedy the mischief which is indeed irreparable, & which I am most mortified to say meets me

wherever I walk, & on whichever side I turn my eyes. Of course the general character & great features of this place are out of the reach of being injured by any mischief on so limited a scale, but in particular points which are familiar to yourself & me, & on which we justly attach great value, much & very serious injury has been done – vexatious as I know this will be to you, yet I am sure you had rather I should state the truth to you as it really is. His walls, & his fences & his building, are within the reach of being demolished, & excite therefore no more regret than for the money & time wasted in putting them up, & pulling them down again. But a much more serious consideration is the insight which this incident has given us into the character of this poor man whose head has evidently been turned, by finding himself placed in a situation to act for himself, & to exercise his own discretion in concerns of so great extent. One might one might reason for ever on this point, but I believe the summary of the whole is that we must not only forgive what has certainly been an unintentional tho' a very great injury, but must let him have another trial, to see whether by much more strictly limiting his discretion he can be so cured of his folly & vanity as to be made fit to conduct such concerns. In other respects I have seen no reason to distrust his fitness for them, but it is certainly a bad feature of all this transaction that in much of what he has done amiss there has been an evident view to the smartness & comfort of his own habitation. I will if possible bring myself to see him this morning, & talk more temperately, but strongly & seriously to him. My final resolution as to his continuance here I must suspend till I look into his accounts, & into other particulars of his management. I am as you may suppose a little harassed with this unexpected vexation, & it does not contribute to improve my habits of bad sleeping – but do not imagine that it makes me unwell – I really think the change of air, & the exercise have done me great good. I write after breakfast and will continue my letter in the course of the day. My horses are come quite well, & if the day which is showery, will permit, I mean to ride to Bodmin to see the Gilberts –Bennett (the son) has just been here – I think him grown fatter & looking much better than last year. The shew of fruit on the peaches & nectarines is very great indeed much too great – for it looks as if they had hardly been thinned at all, & his leaving so much fruit on the trees will, I am certain, injure them permanently. I have not had an opportunity yet to tell him of this – but I will. I see great reason to think well of his attentions in pruning the young plantations – & indeed I do not think more thriving plantations can possibly be seen, making due allowance for the effect of the winds on the deciduous plants, till they are sheltered by the firs & pinasters. I walked yesterday over a good deal of the obelisk ground & was much pleased with what I saw. It is candlelight so I will only say that I have seen Bowen again today & have gone thro' much business with him about the inclosure. – But I told him plainly that I could as yet saying nothing decisive about my future intentions. God bless you my dear dear love.

f. 56. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept 9 1813.

… I am beginning to get over the vexation I have experienced since I came here, but I cannot flatter myself that I have over rated the mischief – but after all, when it is done fretting one's own mind about it, will only add a greater evil to that which I must submit to. What I have seen here to gratify me is that two new roads, which answered beyond my expectation is, & the very improved state of all the plantations – and tho' the exchange of old trees for new

ones, is as bad as poor Aladdin lamps, yet one likes to see our own works prosper. The other new roads, I mean those dependent on the inclosure, are in part made, & we shall go on to turn both the Trevigo lane, & that leading between the kitchen garden & the lawn, to Brookes's . Both of them will improve the place very much, God bless you my dearest love, & make you well and happy.

f. 57. Grenville, Boconnoc.
I like the Captain of the mine much. He is a little reserved and mysterious but we all agree to thinking very intelligent. We finish widening the shaft this week – the men have engaged to do so, & to have a little extra pay if the work is done by the time specified, but not otherwise. Monday next therefore we shall begin driving along the lode northward , & shall then form some judgement of its prospects. But they must always be liable to much uncertainty. Still no harm can happen if we make the work pay us as it goes on. The captain told Fagel that scores of gentlemen would now be glad to take it. But I'm very shy of this, till I see & know more about it. At the present depth the men's labour (they finding candles & gunpowder) would, at tribute-work, be worth, the captain says, more than half the gross produce. This is independent of shafts, adits, engines, & fuel for steam. The expense of these is small at this depth, but increases as we go deeper. Our shaft is dug, adit we want none, our engine is built, & is a small one, & works by a water wheel from the Brook, so that we want no steam. This accounts in very great degree for the small rent which the adventurers in the deep mines pay the Lord of the Soil, but shews that we ought if the lode holds good to make much more of it at first. [Remainder of the letter missing]

f. 59. Anne, Malvern W. Sept 9 1813.
The Bath Post is a famous invention. Your letter put in on Tuesday morning got here today (Thursday) about 4. The Mondays letter came with it. If they had cut down half the trees about the place depend upon it the kindness of your letter would have more than comforted me for the loss. I bear these sort of grievances much better at a distance than upon the spot. When I see a tree foolishly cut down it quite provokes me but in cold blood I can listen to reason & in this case I consider it as the unavoidable evil of a distant place. Unless one forbids a stick being cut which is impossible they will cut in the wrong place. Your going down this year seems to have been fortunate on this as I am sure it will be on every other account. You will put an end to the improving system & Bowen will see that you are in earnest in meaning to judge for yourself. One should be vexed if it was owing to one's own carelessness but I perfectly recollect all you said to him was as guarded as possible but one cannot make them see with one's own eyes. I cannot think what he meant by his wall. The having his improvements undone is a necessary & I have no doubt will be an effectual correction. I'm quite persuaded we shall find him a most valuable person & this makes one only the more desirous of checking these follies in the beginning. In the midst of my anger I am a little sorry for him because he certainly means right. I am delighted to hear so prosperous an account of the plantations & that you like the approach. By what you say I hope Pond 61 goes on well but of this you will see more at your leisure. Has the line of the Plantation behind the fir clump a good effect or is there too much of it? Does the little Plantation behind the Ash upon the hill above Milcoom begin to shew itself?

Pray tell Pond to graft as many Lucomb Oaks as he can in the spring. I believe March is the time. I have been taking a very long walk this evening all over the hill which makes me rather sleepy. I am quite well, the better for having left off all medicine. Sir Walter says I am a model for regularity in drinking walking etc. I have used him very ill in not consulting him. If I had he would have sent a black woman to champoo me. I found her yesterday practising upon Lady Hardwicke's throat & she showed me what she would do for the rheumatism in the shoulder it is very pleasant but she cannot make the joints crack. She says it is only the Madras people that do that. I was delighted to see Lertes's mark. Pray give her my best love in button bands. You do not mention *** [a dog] but I hope he prospers. The fruit comes from Dropmore perfectly.

f. 63. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept. 10. 1813.
This is my dearest wife's birthday, & I began it, as I ought, with humble and grateful thanks to God for the happiness I enjoy in her society & love, & with fervent prayers for her health & for every other blessing that can be showered upon her. I cannot yet begin to calculate how long it may be before I join you at Malvern. Bowen brought me yesterday the accounts & books which he has kept during the last year. As far as I can see they seem to have been carefully & diligently kept. But he has not yet completed the abstract in the form I prescribed to him, & he says it will still take him two or three days to do it. These two or three days I know by experience will be a week and then I cannot say what time it may require to go thro' them, & the accounts from which they are made. I will not leave this place without doing so. Nor is the business of the inclosure ready for me, though it has been so long about. Not to distract his attention with more things than one at once, I have not urged these on at present, nor will I do so till I get the accounts & have made some progress in them, but I should not willingly come away from hence without bringing that matter also to a close, or at least as nearly so as it is possible to do. I am on every account very glad that I came here this year, much as I have been harassed and vexed by what I have found. It is I fancy common to all agents at a distance to imagine that they are left there to act as master with reference only to their own imaginations – & that they fully discharge their duty if they do, not what their principals might wish or approve, but what they themselves think best for the interest of the property. This has evidently been the notion that has, (perhaps imperceptibly to himself) taken possession of Bowen's mind, and if it had not been stopped this year, there is no knowing to what lengths it might not have carried him. For the present he is evidently very penitent & humbled, and as there is not the least appearance of his diligence having relaxed, I still hope he may with careful watching be made an useful agent here. But I have not the least idea that we can ever, with any satisfaction to ourselves, trust him (or possibly anyone else) for any long time together to carry on so large a concern at so great a distance without inspection. We have had, as usual in Cornwall, rain here more or less every day since we came – & yet I think the weather is clearing. The glass, but you know I have no faith in it, stands at Fair, & it did so this morning, when I should, if I had not had an umbrella have come home well wetted from my walk. Yesterday however I rode to the Priory, but they were both absent on a visit. I am threatened with an invasion from the Prince of Orange, who comes to Plymouth with his son tomorrow to see him embark for Spain, & has requested

thro' the two Fagels his wish to be invited here. There was no remedy so I write to him today, thro' Talbot & I shall not *** give him a very Princely entertainment – however he must take it such as it is, & in these days, Princes are not quite so nice as they were. My greatest distress will be for Lions to show him, & for horses to carry him to that sport. I do not think he will care much for the romantic beauties of our own little valleys & brooks - Earlier in the year we should have gone down the river to Fowey but that is now out of the question, nor is there much to be made of Restormel & Lanhydrock. However we must do as well as we can- I cannot help coming back to the subject of the plantations – too much cannot be said of the appearance they exhibit of Pond's attention to them. The young trees which he has planted this year, instead of being as formerly mere crooked rubbish, are all beautiful strait & healthy plants – smaller than the single trees we planted out used to be, but I dare say they will exhibit in for five years a better appearance than the others did in seven. Yet the single trees we planted about Will Robarts's, & those on the Lawn just above the wood are now as thriving plants as you could wish to see. Before I go away I shall mark places for several more in the upper paddock I mean the part above the Avenue, where the course of the road seems to require them. God bless you my dearest love – I got last night your letter of the 6th. This is as short as we could expect. I have bid Talbot send you half a buck which will make a figure I hope in Mrs Springton's kitchen. Do you get fruit [form Dropmore]?

f. 69. Anne, Malvern W Sept 10 1813.

If I was at all disposed to fret my dearest love it would not be at Bowen's enormities but at the mauvais sang you are making every time you go by & see the mischief done. There is nothing so provoking while one is upon the spot & the thing is recent. I do not wonder it vexes you especially with your kind indulgence of all my fancies but do not think I am such a spoilt child as to make a real grievance of a thing of the sort. I heartily wish I was there. I am sure you would then think less about it. At a distance not been provoked every moment as you are by the sight of the gaps and skeletons I see the thing more as it really is & it would be most unreasonable to suffer the diminution of the beauty of the place where we can pass so little time (& by an unavoidable accident for so it really is) to give one a moment's serious pain. I am as well aware of the ragged appearance of the Grove as if I saw it & tho' it would require a century to restore the trees I have very little doubt that the heads of those that remain will so far fill out in a very few years as greatly to lessen the bad effect that is now so striking. There were you know a great many bad trees that always looked as if they should come out & it was only the fear of the ragged look that made me object. A little time will do much to correct this. Many of them are still quite growing trees & will spread fast. As to what it is best to do about Bowen as far as I can judge at a distance it seems to me clear that having scolded him to your hearts content the best thing you can do is to let him remain. It is certainly a dear bought lesson but now that we have paid the price I think he would be less likely to err in the same way than a new person. What you say how about is quite true that whether this has been either from folly or perverseness they are both very bad qualities in his situation. But I do not think it has been exactly from either. Sharman's school was a very bad one just on the two points on which he has heard. Sharman was inclined to cut without mercy & to make a thousand foolish improvements. Laterly his ill-health & indolence kept him quiet. Bowen I am sure thinks a tree past its prime can only be considered as a nuisance & till

now has thought that you could not fail to admire his improvements when you saw them. He must by this time be cured of these mistakes. For the present he will cut no more timber & you will positively forbid all alterations but such as you order. After what has passed, I think these positive directions he will be likely to obey. And one must consider that the great activity & zeal which is required for the situation & which he certainly possesses can hardly be found unmixed with a little of the restless spirit of doing. The taste of all these sort of people is equally bad & I really think the follies we vex about have been in some measure occasioned by a mistaken notion of doing his very best. He is quite inexcusable because he had nothing to do but to follow your directions which were such as he could not well mistake. But he certainly has had a wish at first setting out to show great activity & it has unfortunately been sadly misplaced. Still he has many qualities that ought to make him a useful Steward & the extreme difficulty of finding a proper person must be taken into the consideration. But of all this you can judge much better than I. What you hear of the mine seems I think to be rather encouraging. Has anything been done about the cottage at Couch's Mill? Is the garden finished at Wilcox's Cottage & how is the poor dropsical woman? Are the magnolias & myrtle's grown at the Bath? If I was not growing sleepy (for we keep most early hours) I should ask fifty more questions. Good night I promise not to dream of the grievances. Indeed the kindness that puts you in a passion has made a much deeper impression than Mr Bowen & his crimes. I am beginning to make preparations for your arrival.

f. 72. Anne, Malvern W Sept 11 1813.
I am quite obliged to you for telling me the grievances just as they are & I heartily wish I could persuade you to fret about them as little as I do. But I know it is quite another thing when one has them all day long under one's eye. A little time will I know make the gaps less striking & there is still so much old wood left & so much thriving plantation coming on that I have no doubt that in a few years except to anyone acquainted with every tree as we are the loss will be little perceived. You must consider it as if they had been blown down by a storm & then one takes it very patiently. You do not say whether you have determined to take down his building immediately, unless it is very bad I think I should not much care about it. I dare say he means what he says in his letter & and I do hope nothing of the sort will occur again. He seems to have been thoroughly frightened. You will see better in a little time how the rest of the business seems to have been done. I hope you will be able to settle something about going on with the plantation marked out at the top of the Park. Has the fence been put up along the Polpiece plantation? The line was to be a little more curved, I remember I marked it out in a hurry the last day without having seen it from the other side so my mind misgives me that it may be bad. Pray see whether Pond trains up in the Nursery a few good trees of each sort to be planted out single hereafter. I suppose he was so surprised at seeing any fruit that he could not persuade himself to thin. Are there any grapes? I am in constant admiration of the beauty of the orchards in this country the apples will all be gathered before you come but now they are beautiful. All our new inclosures I fancy will be too bleak but in sheltered situations. I have a notion it would answer to plant apple trees in the hedge rows. I think they would suffer so much less from damp than in the close orchards. I rode to Malvern this morning upon the donkey to be introduced by the Hardwicke's to their walks. They are much

more varied & prettier than ours. Here one is confined to the made walks the Hill is too much covered with furze & too steep to chuse one's own path. There the views are better seen between the hills & it is not such a continued stare. …. You never told me what Carne's answer had been. I take for granted he accepts. The draft came safe. Do not hurry to get your business done I am quite afraid of you over tireing yourself. If you continue not to sleep I certainly would take a <u>few</u> drops of laudanum merely to break the habit.

f. 76. Anne, Malvern W Sept 12 1813
I think I have nothing to say tonight but thank you for your letter of the 9th. I shall drink the mine's health in my first glass tomorrow morning. The turning the two roads you speak of will both be very great improvements indeed. ….We have had no settled weather. One can however go up the hill without expecting to be wet. Pray tell Talbot the venison arrived this morning quite safe Mrs Springton*says it is beautiful but the prospect of eating a haunch alone alarmed me so much that I beg he will not send any more. Ld Hardwicke has undertaken to do the honours of this. I have not hitherto dined there because I do not like to leave <u>my Well</u> which I heard a woman saying the other day she preferred because it was so much <u>stronger</u> than the other. How do your trees on the lawn go on? I am delighted with what you say of the plantations not only that it is good in itself but as it shews that Pond takes care of them. Ask him if he wants to know anything about the little plants you took down.

f. 78. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept 12 1813
I'm sorry to say that I discovered yesterday what I think the most provoking of all Bowen's follies that I have yet seen. You remember the pains we took in tracing the line for the new wall fence in the case of moor above Sowden's which we meant to throw into the park, to keep it behind a high bank and tall thicket upon it, by which the fence would have been quite concealed. Would you believe it possible that after having finished the wall he has proceeded with great labour & expense to level the bank, & to grub up every bush , & tree upon it, that the whole wall might stare you in the face from one end of it to the other.
He has then carried out a sort of road close to this wall, to the very end of the moor, where he has carried the wall across the valley & close to it (quite close to it) built a bridge thus (Drawing) which when you have crossed it leads you straight into the quarry! The consequence is that what would have been as I always thought one of the greatest improvement of which this place was capable is now so intolerably ugly that I have told Bowen to suspend taking down the fence between that & the Park, & the result must be I believe after all this expense & time to leave it (not as it was, for that unfortunately we cannot do) but as it is, thinking even that a less evil than to open it to the Park. I am more vexed at all these things than perhaps I ought to be, & certainly much more than I should be if the disappointment & mortification affected myself alone. But I know it will hurt you, & that makes me feel it a great deal more. I walked today over Brownshill Wood, & there I am happy to say no mischief whatever has been done, because nothing has been done, for it seems to be utterly impossible for him to touch the least thing without spoiling it. I rated him again yesterday when I came back from Sowden's, but alas to what purpose? I told him plainly that it was more than ever a matter of doubt with me whether we should continue him here, & that if we did it certainly would only be with an express prohibition to take the

smallest step of any kind in our affairs, & most of all in what relates to this place, without our previous & positive approbation. But what will this signify? When he told me yesterday that he conceived it to be a matter of course that when the wall was built the bank was to be removed. How can we guard against such folly two hundred miles off? What to do I really know not. The mine seems to promise very favourably. The Captain is very shy of committing himself to me, but to Fagel he talks more freely, & says he has no doubt of its repaying twofold any expense bestowed upon it.The pump is not yet set strait, but will be so, I hope, tomorrow – & on Tuesday Carne the engineer is to be here. I think it by no means impossible that just when I want to be at liberty to talk to him, & pick out of him what I so very little understand myself, I shall be plagued with these Serene Highnesses,[The Prince of Orange and his son] & in that case I shall have nothing to do but keep myself as Serene as they, if I can. I have written in proper form with as many lies as are necessary on such an occasion to express the delight which I shall not feel, (how indeed can I?) at receiving them here. The fields above the Parsonage, or rather those beyond it, are broken up as I had directed, & sowed with turnips – the hedge between them is destroyed & the effect is very good. We have not yet had one day without rain.

f. 84. Grenville, Boconnoc. Monday morning.
I got your dear & kind letter last night. It is just such as I might have expected from you, but I am not the less vexed that you should have had so *** unnecessary an occasion cast upon you of expressing your good sense & temper. The Plantation behind the fir is not at all too large – the post will not wait.

f. 85. Anne, Malvern Sept 13.
Thank you a thousand times for the kindness of your last letter. I am quite vexed at the incursion. It is bad in every way, it will not only worry you sadly but hinder your business. I have no idea what you can take him to see. If there was anywhere to go I should fret that you had not the horses who are very idle here. I suppose you can always get horses at Lostwithiel but what with the roads and the want of objects where to take him I have no guess. What will become of Tom? I think he can do nothing but fall sick. All the sad news will not make the visit there gay. Here the glass is more correct than yours it points constantly to change. The morning was beautiful & I was assured I might depend upon it lasting. It did not last long enough to take me to the top of a hill they call Camp Hill from which the view is really beautiful. But this evening is as stormy as ever. In my way I discovered a rabbit warren that will afford Zyphyr excellent sport. You would have laughed at the party. Me on the donkey, Mrs Springtonʼs niece on the poney to show the way, the ass boy, for without him the ass stands still, & Williamto carry cloaks & umbrellaʼs & lead the ass in difficult passes. We accomplished our journey in three hours walking good part of the way. Ld Somers left a note this morning to ask me to dine & sleep at Castledich [Eastnor Castle] on Saturday as they will probably not ask me again until you come I have promised to go. With all you have to do it is impossible you can get away from Boconnoc very soon. I am anxious you should not hurry yourself. After what has passed it will be necessary I suppose to go there next year but that is not a reason for leaving undone what you can now finish. The great point of all is not to worry & tire yourself. That can never be worthwhile. …. I have had some very fine fruit once

& I dare say they will send more [from Dropmore] but I do not allow myself much in that way. The stomach has so much to do with the constant water drinking that it cannot be right to give it any extra jobs therefore I stick close to meat & potatoes & tea & bread & butter. The Springtons will certainly not profit much by my board for I am voracious. I hope I give particulars enough of myself. I mean it by way of example. I hardly know how to desire you not to write so much but I really shall not expected letter every day. Especially now that you are doing the honours. I wish I could come in for my share of the bore [The Prince of Orange]. I always write overnight because I am in a hurry in the morning to get to the Well. But the post does not go out till between eight & nine. So you get the letters the 3rd day.

f. 89. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept 14 1813.
I expect Carne the engineer here today & will write to you tomorrow to let you have what he says. Our Captain, Jones, continues extremely sanguine but Accum's report which I rec'd last night seems (if I understand it right) to describe the ore as much less rich in metal, in proportion to other ingredients than my books describe as normal in lead ores. I shall however send him up some more of the rough specimens, & also some of the ore as pounded & sifted into the state in which it is considered as merchantable – and as I shall take these myself out of the heaps where they lie, I shall be sure there is no unfair selection. Nothing can be more remarkable or more amiable than your view of our mischances here – I have not yet said anything definitely to Bowen, but I agree with you that we must keep him & try by scolding & exhortation to persuade him that he must leave the task of improving our house & place to ourselves. I much fear however that it must still be a fortnight or three weeks before I can turn my horses Malvern-way. I must go *** thro' the accounts, which I have not yet got, & I must decide all that can be decided about the inclosure here. There is also a question of some doubt about an Inclosure Act for St Stephen's. I incline to it. I saw Gilbert here yesterday & he comes to us for a day next week I think him much broken. We are not the only miners in these parts, all our neighbours are doing the same, & this country bids fair to be the seat of mining in Cornwall not much to the advantage of the ***of the country. In Sowden's if no other mischief had been done, I really think the engine, & a little shed already built, & and another we are building very picturesque objects, & suit the wildness of the scene – & really improve it. God bless you. I saw Mrs Wilcox & forgot to tell you that she describes herself as being quite as well as she ever is, or hopes to be – the garden there is finished, but among Bowen's lesser follies is a new bank fence that he has made there a thousand feet high which almost shuts the cottage out from the road as you go along it. I have ordered it to be demolished at least as far as the garden extends. Round the little orchard above, it is not quite so great a nuisance. The new cottage for the Smith is almost finished, & the effect will be very good. There is there also a little Bowenery, but which I am in time to rectify. The Woodhouse near Bowen's must be demolished. It is quite impossible to endure it there – & besides the lesson will not be complete to Bowen if he ends by finally *** *** this addition to his own convenience at our expense.

f. 93. Anne, Malvern W Sept 14
I wanted you of all things today to enjoy a beautiful view. I went a donkey party with two ladies who are in the house up the Worcestershire Beacon the highest I believe of these hills.

The day was perfect summer, & the light most favourable. It really was a delightful expedition. The ascent is quite easy & the view more extensive and I think finer than what I saw yesterday. The Welsh hills do not appear so considerable as I expected & there is a want of water & buildings but in spite of this there is a great look of richness and cheerfulness in the country & a number of small hills partly corn and partly covered with wood have a singular & beautiful effect. I fret to think ~~to think~~ that all this will be sadly changed before you see it. This is not beyond a walk for you & a very little assistance from a donkey would take me up. I do not know whether the water will be any real use to me but the keen air of these hills certainly agrees with me & I feel better than when I came here but I attribute this partly to leaving off the medicine which rather disagreed with my stomach. I fancy you are in the thick of your Princes. Mr Fagel's letter says you were expecting them…..

f. 95. Grenville, Boconnnoc, September 14 afternoon.
I have pretty well passed the whole morning with Mr Carne & the mine. I think he seems an intelligent & fair man. The result of our conversation is this. That the lode, it's course being as you know nearly North & South, has apparently been worked in a southerly direction about fifty or sixty fathoms in length, & at the level of the bottom of <u>their</u> shaft, say 8 fathoms, there being traces all the way up the hill of shafts opened in that direction. It has then been filled up again with the rubbish or <u>deads</u> taken out in working it. This leads one to presume that at some former period it must have been worked to profit, as they would otherwise not have proceeded in it so far. Then one asks why they stopped. He cannot precisely ascertain this – but supposes it may have been from want of power to bring up the water. He showed me the place in the rock where their wheel worked, & it appears evidently it must have been a very small one, & he showed me also a groove made in the rock by the friction of their ropes or chains, which sufficiently proves how very bad their mechanism must have been. He has determined me against driving along the lode at the present level. His reason seems conclusive. We are now not more than 3 fathoms below the old level. If in working along that level the former miners came to any very good bunches of lead, it is likely he says that they would at any such place have sunk pits below their general working, & should we come into any such in the course of our working we shall be put to great expense to clear them, & an expense which must of course be all dead loss, as the stuff with which they are filled must have been worked out. At 2 fathoms lower he says we shall be out of the reach of any such pits, & shall have <u>a good roof</u> over our heads as we go on both north and south. The expense of these 2 fathoms more is stated to me at between £30 & £40 but call it (with incidents) £100 & this is the whole farther expense which can now be required, to make what both Carne & Jones say will be a fair trial of the mine: indeed Carne says expressly that at that depth he could advise to put in strength enough to work at once both north & south, & if the lode is then found not to answer he shall not hesitate to recommend our abandoning the work. As it is the appearances daily improve – the ore gets richer and more abundant in the lode, and & the quartz rock in which it is bedded softer & easier to work. There is some puzzle about Accum's [a London Metallurgist] assay. I did not tell Carne that I had had the ore tried in London – but he told me that he had got it assayed by a person concerned in the lead mine near Truro the only one in Cornwall now working – & the result was 1/75, instead of 1/37 of metal which last is Accum's account. This difference is prodigious & I know not

how to account for it – the interest of Carne's friend would have been rather to discourage a competition with his own mine than to lead me on by exaggerating the produce of our ore. I have not mentioned this contradiction to Carne , but have desired him to get some of the ore last brought up, assayed for me & he will send me the results in a few days. ….

f. 100. Grenville, Dropmore, Sept 15 1813,
I walked today along the opposite side of Sowden's moor, (that next the Park) & I am inclined to hope that the evil is less than I thought, tho' it is still very great. In a few years by planting thorn's & young trees along the line of Bowen's road, which is only a cart track not stoned, that track may be quite stopped up, & the wall hid. It is already concealed in many places by the remaining trees both on the side next to the walk, & also on the opposite side, tho' some are gone there to.The Park Drive must go, as indeed we always meant, on the south side, & must turn up a little lower than we meant so as to miss the wall, & bridge, & quarry, at the end, the bizarrerie of which three things close together exceeds all power of description but <u>they</u> are very easily hid, *** you go quite to the end to look for them. We must delay for the present throwing this bit of ground with the Park because the only hope of making it tolerable is by this planting, which the deer would destroy. We have had two delightful days, & I can assure you that in spite of all mischief the place looked beautiful & I enjoyed it very much indeed. The hedge & bank on the outer boundary of the downs is nearly completed from Braddock church round to the Barrows. Whether they will grow in that exposure I know not but the ****is stuck full of Beech, Oak & Thorn. You see by what I have already written to you about the mine that there is no possibility of completing what they call a fair trial within any time that I come think of staying here, and the miners have put it still more out of the question by <u>striking</u> for a larger price than we think it right to give them for the next two fathoms. This is quite in the usual course, & it arises I believe in part from a notion that I wanted the business done while I was still here, & would therefore pay more for it rather than wait. Now that they are undeceived on this head they will probably be glad to come back, & if not we shall have no difficulty to get more, only it will cause some delay. But in the present stage of the business a week or a fortnight sooner or later is not of the smallest consequence. I now wait here only for the other business but that may still take some time, as I am determined to go completely through it. The trees on the lawn are all doing well – those on the hill behind the old wood, (at Penvose) are beautiful & have already a very good effect from many parts of the Park Hill. The great Holly there has almost entirely recovered its ****. The large ash that we moved out in the lawn are also quite established – the Oaks not so – the Beech line against the old Ashes to the East are also capital. Those is dotted about between the Iron Gate & the Avenue are still very slowy, but I have marked places for a good many more quite at the top near the gate, & in that corner I think they will do. I have not yet been in the inside of the North wall [of the Bath] – so I can say nothing of the myrtles & magnolia's there but I will go & look at them. There is a verbena at Bowen's much the finest I ever saw – it is full 16 feet high, & not less in its spread. It is *** against the wall – I forget whether you planted it there – God bless you my dearest love, I neglect all my other letters in the pleasure of writing to you.

f. 105. Anne, Malvern Sept 15.
To be sure the wall & bridge are provoking enough & it is as you say the more discouraging from showing such a want of common sense as well as inattention to your directions. For the present at least I suppose the old fence must be left because if the wall is thrown into the Park nothing will ever get up against it. Would it be of any use to plant Irish Ivy to grow up it? I gave Pond some cuttings I hope he struck them. They would grow very fast in that situation. Perhaps a few thorns & hollies stuck in here & there are would break the staring look of it. As to the bridge I know not what to say. I am delighted to hear so promising an account of the mine I now really hope it will turn out much better than I had any idea of. And in spite of his follies we must give Bowen credit for his zeal & activity upon that subject. You know we found some difficulty in putting trees where the turn of the new road in the lawn seemed to require it they look so ugly from the Hill, & I think from the library window. But I dare say with a little attention this may be managed. I am quite fidgety about the Serenes they will worry & interrupt you so. I shall not be satisfied until I hear of their departure. We have had three fine days together & I have made the most of them. Congratulate me on being appointed architect to Mr Springton. Tomorrow I am to have a bricklayer at my orders to Rumford a chimney [for Rumford see http://www.rumford.com/articleWhat.html.] He let a Mrs Campbell built his house & it is as bad a one as might be expected. I had a letter from Charles today giving a very good account of Mrs W W. [Williams Wynn] I wish they had had a boy.

f. 108. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept 16 1813
….It seems likely that we shall have our oranges here tomorrow – whether the green one as well as the ripe one I do not make out nor do I much care. Generally indeed in these cases the more the better. We shall do very well tho' *** to be sure will break his heart that he is not here to help to receive them. We have had two fine days, & today it rains. I hope it will not rain the whole time they are here as making conversation twenty four hours together may be rather heavy. I will ask Pond again, but he seemed, when I gave him the plants, to think he understood all about them. …. The piece along Polpiece has been brought out & well fenced with a high bank fence which there I do not object to – but then there is a gap left for a gate, & filled up with posts, rails, bars & furze in the true Cornish style, enough in quantity to fence a park but not sufficient as they are placed to keep out a cow. I hope to have this corrected - they are now pruning that plantation. The line is quite good – but the new part is not planted. Pond says it shall be this year. I fear there is not the least chance of Apple trees growing on any of our new banks – they are too high. Carne refuses, & I shall name Macbride – so Hodgson recommends. I sleep much better since I have made Mrs Rhind allow one another mattress. But sometimes the trees & fences will haunt me tho' I am comforted by your letters about them. The miners are already come back to their work, & today the captain shows me what he thinks (and it really seems so to me) a much better specimen than we have yet raised. If I gave entire faith to all he says I should begin to grow very sanguine about it. We shall however gradually lose our lode as we sink our shaft deeper, for that must go down strait & the lode has an inclination to the West as it sinks. We must (drawing) therefore when we get down to the bottom of our two fathoms drive an adit westward till we meet it again & then run North & South along it. If at that depth it is found to answer we shall then have to go

down again, but our working along the course of it will in that case more than pay our expenses. It has cost us now about £300 including the value of our own timber in the engine, which if we abandon the concern, may easily be converted, great part of it, with a thrashing mill, & be sold as such. £100 more you recollect is all they ask, & then they promise us to consider the trial as fairly made, & to let us abide by the result. We cannot therefore at all accounts be great dupes to the mining lottery, which from the wonderful success of Crinnis near St Austell has now taken possession of this neighbourhood. From all I see I am very unwilling to grant any set here. The present engine I am afraid ought to drain the mine down to 30 fathoms & we are now only at 11, & I see very little other occasion for capital to any large extent. No set could be granted I fear without giving a degree of power over the park & place, which just now I am less than ever disposed to give. Carne is engaged in a copper mine which he says is coming fast into our ground. It is I think in St Kew. It paid us I believe about £40 last year being in ground of which we have only an undivided fourth but it is he says travelling fast to a field that is our sole property. So enough of mines for today – but it rains, & I have not got my accounts, & like better talking with you, (even in this way) than sitting down as I ought to dispatch the hateful bundle of unanswered letters. I have been into the bath ground, & have seen the magnolias and myrtles which thrive to admiration – so much so that if he has any left I shall make him plant the north side for uniformity's sake tho' I suppose they will not blow [flower] there. The myrtles are all in full blossom. The magnolias are too young to show as yet any sign of bloom.Zephyr is so dear he will I really believe come to be a favourite. When he saw Bennett on Sunday he perfectly understood before I said a word to him that we were going to church & he never offered to come with us. He does not however like mining at all, tho' there has been no question of going down.

f. 115. Anne, Malvern Sept 16.
I am just returned from dining with the Hardwicke's where I had unexpectedly the opportunity I had long wished for of making acquaintance with Gen. Ramsay's poodle. Tho' locked up in a room he made his escape, traced his master & came scratching at the door while we were at dinner. He sneezes at the word of command & is altogether the most admirable person. I heard many wonderful & well authenticated dog stories. Among others a dog of Mr Nisbetts who was lost at Naples & at the end of three years burst open his door & jumped upon him in Portman Square. He had passed the interval with 116 a captain of a ship in the Mediterranean but the moment he arrived in London ran away to his old home.

f. 117. Grenville, Boconnoc Sept 17 1813.
It has struck me that there was an error of the press in what I wrote you about the assays of the lead. Accum's was 37 per Ct. & Carne's 75 per cent, that is 3/4 lead to 1/4 of other substances. How to reconcile the difference I am wholly at a loss. I have been looking again at the Woodhouse. It might possibly have stood if it had been a plain building such as that use would naturally demand – but it is full of taste , & therefore must go – indeed I think on all accounts it is best that it should.
Mr Pomeroy is dead, who held you may remember one undivided moiety of an estate called *** in Fowey parish under you, & the other half as his own. We had referred it to Mr Walker to make a division by arbitration the bounds having been long since lost. Sharman valued the

whole at £160 per annum & they have just had it valued by a surveyor of the country who has put it at £254!. …. I've been studying this morning the new Plantation behind the fir clump, & I have no doubt you will think it too small in every way. My own opinion is that it ought very nearly to join the West Park gate plantation leaving only a narrow ride between them & I think the beauty of the place would be much improved by thus dividing the view – besides which a Plantation on that ground is very much wanted to crown the Valley, as you go up & down the new Helstone road, which I am certain you will when you see it, consider as the most successful thing ever done here.We shall have however full employment for this winter in the Plantation which is to be brought forward, & which Pond estimates at not less than 8 acres, & in the single trees, which must be numerous, not to speak of what may be to be done in Sowden's moor – any question therefore of adding to the Plantation behind the fir clump, may very well be reserved until you see it. I have a project in order to get thorns to plant against the wall in Sowden's to take away the fence against the chestnut plantation at the corner of the lawn – I think that plantation may now be safely be opened to sheep – but I will first look it over again carefully with Pond. The thorns on that bank would remove with all their earth, & would sooner hide the wall than anything else I could get. More single trees there would not mask it in fifty years, & a close plantation would require another fence, & so increase the grievance in place of lessening it. He could put in some oak & ash among the thorns so as in two or three years to protect themselves even against deer. Tell me what you think of this? The fence against the younger part of the wood on the north side of Brimble comb has been taken away, & the trees appear to me quite safe from all injury. I have this morning carefully examined them. The Plantation on the opposite bank, (all except the part we added at the top) has been much thinned & pruned, & is also I think out of danger. I should perhaps have hesitated about taking the fence away better if I had not found, in going into it today, that it is in fact now the constant resort of the cattle, & does not seem any way injured by them. The fence is opened in 20 places, & is in such a state as hardly to admit of repair. If any fence was wanting there must be a new one, & I really think that expense quite unnecessary, besides the waste of time & materials while we have so much fencing to do. I shall therefore order this also to be removed. If Pond, (or I myself), on a review of the chestnut Plantation should doubt the safety of letting the sheep into it, it can be fenced for a year or two more by movable hurdles, & we may still get the thorns, which I know not where else to find so fit for our purpose in Sowden's. Since the first day or two I have not at all over-tired myself, & then I believe it was more by vexation and fretting on your account, than by real fatigue. I have had a very long walk today all about the place, & its plantations & up & down the hills. It was very warm & close, but you may judge by the length of this letter about nothing how little tired I am. Zeph's love, God bless you.

f. 123. Anne, Malvern Sept 17.

I had made up my mind to about a fortnight from the 14th but I rather made a face at three weeks. I am not at all surprised however that you find so much to do. I flatter myself from your letter that you have had Mr Carne in peace before your Princes. His reasons for advising you to go deeper before you work on the mine seems to be quite satisfactory. All you say of it seems to be very promising. One does not at all understand the very great difference in the

two assays unless it is possible that the Truro man did not reduce his to what Accum would call pure lead. Pray tell me whether you have 124 taken to sleeping & how you are.

f. 125. Anne, Malvern, Sept 18.
I must write but two lines to thank you for your delightful long letter of the 15 as the carriage is waiting to take me to Castledich. I am glad that you're waiting for the mine is out of the question. After your long conversation with Carne I think you will be able to judge a good deal at a distance. I have no doubt that in fine weather in spite of grievances the place looks in great beauty. I remember the Verbena very well I believe Mrs *** planted it. We are in great distress at leaving Di for one night.

f. 126. Boconnoc Sept 19 1813.
I received last night not *** SS [Serenes] but both their excuses. I am of course an desespoir, & as you may suppose not a little relieved. The little orange is gone off to Spain with dispatches, & the great one is gone back to town on the news of Bernadotte's victories which I wish as heartily as any Highness of them all may turn out such as they are willing to believe. My business here does not advance, & I see no prospect of getting away for a fortnight to come – about the beginning of the week after next, I may perhaps achieve it, & get to Castle Hill, where if I stay a week, it must be the 12th or 14th of October before I join you at Malvern. I should certainly propose to bring my horses with me, & I suppose by that time all idea of Malvern season will be so completely over that I shall have no difficulty in lodging them. The lode would furnish most beautiful specimens of spar & Cornish diamonds for the cave, but the quantity is not great, & the expense of carriage to any considerable extent cannot be thought of. I forgot to ask Fielden if he could send me any from the Bath Quarries – they would be more within reach – Fagel leaves us I think in the course of this week. He must be in town in October for his new office, & *** to the Orange farm first. His office work will I fear be a source of some vexation to him. It is a most ill considered project of my friend Bathurst's, & will reduce hundreds of poor & perfectly innocent people in Holland to the utmost misery. They are all applying to Fagel to represent their cases to Government here. The scheme is to seize all the produce of their estates in Surinam, & to sell it in this country, & to vest the amount in the funds to accumulate under the management of these commissioners for the benefit of their owners, to be at their disposal after the war. In the meantime they cannot touch a penny of it, & many of them have absolutely nothing else to live upon. If they can only subsist without eating for ten or twelve years more they may find themselves very rich at the end of the war. The motive of all this oppression, which tho' I talk of it lightly makes one's heart bleed when one hears the detail, is a childish notion of depriving Bonaparte of a resource for carrying on the war. The war cannot cost him less than forty or fifty millions a year – the whole produce of these states is estimated at 2, or £300,000 if he taxed them at 25% he would get from £50 to £60,000. I do not know why I write all this to you who can no more *** than I can, but my mind is just now quite full of it.

f. 130. Anne, Malvern W Sept19
As you expected your oranges only on Friday I am afraid you are hardly free yet. The mine really seems to promise very well. I do not wonder you are so averse to any idea of a set. I am

delighted about George Neville. It really is the most comfortable establishment one could have wished for him and I have no doubt he will do well in it. I returned here after church. The Somers's pressed me to stay another day but I thought I had better come back & drink. I met an old labourer tonight who assures me he has a spring of his own which performs twice as many cures as this only it is the wrong side of the hill & therefore does not suit the gentry. The Somers's only daughter is a sad object in point of health & appearance. The eldest son seems a pleasing unaffected young man but I am afraid he is not thought as clever as the one they lost. Ld Hardwicke was there but nobody else you know. If you do not make haste you will neither find them nor the House. It is to be pulled down in November. There are 400 workmen employed upon the new building & all as quiet & orderly as our small number. I am glad Zeph is likely to become a pet. I do not myself think there is much in Di. I had desired Pond to plant myrtles against the north wall of the bath. I'm afraid he has no more magnolias. He was to plant a pomegranate at the Wilcox's but I forgot exactly which I thought the warmest place. If it is not planted you will shew him where to put it. If the old man at Will Robert's Mrs R's father is alive pray give him something he is an excellent old man.

f. 132. Boconnoc Sept 20 1813.

I have told Bowen of your kindness to him, & have lectured him once more, & do really hope that he is sufficiently impressed with the necessity of letting us follow our own fancies in future without assisting us with his taste. He was in the act of making us a pair of tasty iron gates for the lawn with circles, & semicircles and knobs & points, & heaven knows what, according to the most approved examples of Messrs Plans & co-– but these also are now annulled, & he begins to understand that these approved examples are exactly what we most disapprove. I have not yet got the accounts but I am promised these tomorrow. Gilbert dines here today, & stays the evening, so it will probably be late tomorrow morning before I shall put to my business. I fear the time I mentioned is the very earliest that I can hope to get away, & it is much more likely to be later. However impatient I am to be with you again I cannot express, but I must not let this feeling interfere with my finishing what I ought to do here. It is very material this first time of settling Bowen's own accounts with him, to go through the whole with perfect method & regularity – & it is become more so from what has happened. The mine is going quietly on, and we must not expect to know much more about it till the middle of November. They do not sink above 3 feet in a week, which is only 6 inches a day, & it as yet, is too soon to enquire whether the rock gets softer & more workable as we go down. It ought to do so, & I hope will. The plan of the allotments for the inclosure I hope to settle finally before I leave this place. I am in great doubt, whether it will not be better to plant the circle of downs in the middle of which the Obelisk Hill stands, rather than to try to make a farm of the north-west part of it according to the plan which you may remember we had last year. The immediate profit of the farm would no doubt be greater, as for the expenditure of about £1500 on fencing & building Bowen seems to think we might make a rent of about £160 per annum be more than per cent. But then this will be subject to repairs etc. The planting would require only a ring fence for the whole which we must indeed at all events make, & the planting may let be carried on gradually. It would comprise from 200 to 250 acres, & would therefore cost, before it was completed, a full £2000. It would also

require a considerable expense for some time in replacing, pruning, & thinning, & it would be from 15 to 20 years before the thinnings began to repay their own expense. But still the market for timber is & must be so good here, & that not only for full grown sticks, but also for the smaller growth, that it might in the end fully repay the cost. This however is said taking it for granted that the trees will grow there at all, which considering the height of the ground, and that it circles round from West to South exposure may be a little doubtful, & altho' one might derive some confidence from the experience of the obelisk ground, it must be said that the expense of replacing dead plants there for so many successive years, (and expense not yet finished as there is more of that work to be done this year) has been so great as to swallow up all possibility that the plantation there can ever repay its cost. This question need not be decided instantly, because for this year the Plantation against Sowden's wall, & that on the park hill, & the single trees I have marked, or intend marking, will fully occupy our means. But if we resolve to undertake a plantation on so much larger a scale for future years we must extend our nursery, & this must be done this autumn. A very favourable opportunity offers for it by an exchange which will give us the immediate occupancy of the fields between the nursery & orchard, & the obelisk ground. This I shall at all events tried to accomplish, as on many accounts it would be desirable to get those fields in hand. As to my own health which you order me to speak it has really been perfectly good ever since the first week –. I was then heated with my journey, & that together with a few cross incidents here, prevented my sleeping – but I now sleep quite as well as I commonly do. I am in the air the whole day & fully occupied at home & both these things you know agree with me. God bless you my dearest love.
Fagel has got a great cold, & is nursing it in his own room– but I hope it is nothing more. My brother is uncommonly well we have had three or four days of delicious weather quite fair and only a little too hot for me – today it is clouded over, & I have not been out. I rode yesterday to return Walker's visit. He was not at home but I saw a large addition he is making to his house. Glynn we all agree is extremely improved & improving – He & Mrs Agar are both going on planting year after year so that in the next generation the country will assume a new face.

f. 145. [should be 140]; Anne, Malvern Sept 20.
I do not like to go to bed without saying good night to dear Peter [dog] tho' I have nothing at all to tell him. I wish you may have your share of the summer we are now enjoying. I want you of all things to go to all sorts of places. I saw the Dow. Ldy Lyttelton [Apphia Peach who married the 'wicked' Ld Lyttelton]. today she is quite a prosperous old lady living in an absolute cottage.

f. 141. Anne, Malvern Sept 21.
Your letter which I should have had yesterday was missent to Gloucester. You say nothing of your Princes so I suppose they were not come. I think however Friday was the day you expected them. I am rather impatient to hear of their departure. There was no error of the press in what you said of the two assays. So very great a difference seems difficult to account for. I dare say you are quite right about the wood house & also about increasing the plantation behind the fir clump. You were a little afraid of its covering the hill too much but now you

see the effect you can judge of that. Was not a sort of wide drive to be left in the plantation that is to be brought forward? I should not be at all afraid of letting the sheep into the chestnut plantation & the thorns will be excellent for your purpose, a good deal of holly might be mixed with them. The older plantation cannot surely want any fence. The weather here continues delightful and I am out all day. I accompanied Ldy Hardwicke this morning in her first attempt at a donkey ride we afterwards walked a good deal. And this evening I have been all over the hill where I was really amused by a vulgar party affecting gentility just arrived from Cheltenham who would consider me as an inhabitant of the Well House & therefore as an acquaintance. They insisted upon me doing the honours of the walks to them & pursued me wherever I went & a fat one at last when we came to the steep part said Ma'am give me leave to take hold of your arm & leant so heavily that between my laughing & carrying her weight we were both very near down. They never left off me till dusk when I stopped at the Well to drink & afterwards when I passed their house almost in the dark one of them sallied out to take a tender leave of me & express her regret that she was so soon to part from me. I met Col & Mrs Sneyd who are come to the Rock House. She is a very good humoured woman. I dare say you have surveyed the nursery. Does Pond want any seeds from Dropmore?

f. 143. Grenville, Boconnoc, Sept 22 1813.
I have been all the morning on the Park Hill making some little alterations in the line of fence for the new plantation, chiefly in bringing it forward in one or two points to vary too great a straitness that it had. Tom was with me & we are very proud of our work. We afterward walked with Pond thro' the rough parks Plantation which he has partly thinned this year, & many parts of which are as promising as you could wish to see. The Pinasters are going off fast in the bare parts which had nothing else upon them, & I incline to think that the best thing to do will be to turn the deer, in a years or two into the whole of that inclosure. There will be quite enough covered with trees to give it a very park like appearance & the Pinasters must of course be cut away as they die off which will evidently be very fast. There are two little patches in it with potatoes by one of the labourers, & these we shall plant this year. Gilbert was here yesterday & left us this morning looking I think rather better than he did. We have had a delicious day. Tomorrow he promises me the accounts which will not be quite as amusing as marking out lines for planting.

f. 145. Anne, Malvern W Sept 23.
I felt a little disappointed when first I read your letter of the 19th (which did not reach me till today) to find that you did not think of coming here for a month. But I have now quite made up my mind not to expect you at all and shall therefore give up the rooms I have partly engaged. By the time you speak of my two months will be so very nearly expired and the season so far advanced that it would really be a journey for nothing. I shall therefore look to the meeting you at Dropmore at the beginning of November. You are very lucky to have escaped your Princes. Much of what you say of the Surinam business had occurred to me when first we heard of it. It is a sad thing & seems as foolish as it is cruel.

f. 147. Anne, Malvern W Sept 24

Your letter of the 21st came right today. I do not quite understand the part you mean when you speak of the North West part of the circle of downs in the middle of which the obelisk Hill stands. I had fancied the farm was intended to be in the South East part bounded by the wide grass ride. Perhaps it is not within that ride but beyond it that you doubt about planting. I should think that there could be no possible objection to the scheme but the expense. I have no idea that if the ground was once well fenced & properly planted that we should find any necessity for the repeated filling up we have had in the obelisk ground unless it is from mischief done by rabbits. You know at the time the bad part of the obelisk Plantation was planted Rhind had no plants of a proper size & great part that was filled up with old rubbish. I should think the best way by far would be in those exposed grounds to plant the Pinasters & Scotch firs one spring & and the other trees the following autumn or the autumn twelve-month scattering seeds. It will certainly be very desirable to get the fields you speak of near the nursery whether you increase it or not. I am glad we have escaped the Plan gates. You know I carry my hatred of a smart gate beyond anybody. I have heard from Dropmore today but I think nothing very interesting except that the dogs are miserable from the destruction of the two staircases. Poor Libs has been a good deal cut they don't know how but is recovering. Filor has nothing to regret as you had not the Oranges & he is in daily expectation of the Queen whose visit the Bishop has announced to him. This seems to have produced a great effect upon the whole family. Plant writes word that everything is put away & every corner made as clean as possible.The Hardwicke's have brought a common cheap service of Worcester China to use instead of Staffordshire. I shall look at it because I think we want something of the sort. Your last letter only confirms my fear that you're coming here is out of the question. I shall do my best but I do not find that I go on near so well without you & Zephyr. I am delighted at the good account of you. Do not overwork yourself.

f. 151. Grenville, Boconnoc, Sept 25 1813.
Carne has been here again today, & I am sorry to say the report is much less favourable. The appearance of the lode towards the Park Hill is so poor that he does not think it worth pursuing in that direction. On the other side, that is to the N. West it looks better, but if I am to form my own opinion of the specimens brought up yesterday & today, I should say that these also are much poorer than what came up before tho' I do not think he and Jones distinctly advise it. This part however they think worth trying, but the expense of working downwards is so great from the hardness of the rock, that Carne advises going down only a few feet, (2 or 3) more, being the depth to which the present pumps will work without alteration, and then driving on the lode northward to see whether it holds on in that direction as good as it is now. They calculate that what they shewed me will produce about a ton of merchantable ore in a square fathom of ground, & it seems clear that much less than that will not leave any profit on raising it. To go down they say would now cost £20 per fathom – but they can drive horizontally along the lode at about £10 or 12. To this are to be added to the expenses of dressing the ore (that is separating the metallic part of the or from the spar etc) the carriage to the smelting house, & the charge of smelting I could not bring them to a precise statement on these – nor indeed are they capable of being reduced quite to a certainty. But I think they must be from £7-£10 more, & out of the remaining £10 the charges of machinery & other incidents must be defrayed. The pig lead being worth about £29 or 30 per

tonne. It is therefore their decided opinion that a lode which produces less than a ton per fathom will not be worth pursuing except that if the prospects should then appear more favourable, it will at that rate probably cover its expenses. As more time is always required for every work than is first estimated for it, they now say that it will now take them about 10 days or a fortnight before they shall be ready according to their plan to drive along the lode. Every day will then show whether the nature of it improves or becomes worse, and when they shall have completed a fathom they will be able to judge of the quantum of ore it has produced & on that Carne will make me his report, which I may expect, he says, in about a month, & which ought he thinks to decide me as to pursuing or abandoning the work, unless I had a mind to go on upon it on mere speculation which I certainly have not. There is more appearance of copper in what is now raised, but not enough to be of any importance. Of the quality of the lead there seems no doubt there must have been some great mistake in Accum's assay. Carne took some away with him when he was last here, to have it assayed, & he showed me Mr Mitchell's report, which is 79 1/4 of lead in the hundred, being rather better than that which he tried before. It is not therefore any defect in the ore, but the poverty of the lode which seems to make against us, & even northward the chance seems so much the less favourable, because it now appears that those who worked it before have gone in that direction at their level about five or six fathoms, & then desisted. As however the lode seems to dip considerably this is not decisive. On the whole things look much less favourable in my judgement, & as the expense of the further trial to be now made is even less than was before proposed it is satisfactory to think that there is a possibility of arriving at 156 a reasonable conclusion of what we ought to do about it, which I think must certainly be to abandon it should the lode itself when worked at the level now proposed appears not to defray the charge of working it. I do not regret the expense (which is not great) that I have incurred in bringing it to this point nor am I sorry that it brought me here this summer, when on the contrary I am convinced it was very important that I should have come. We have delightful weather, God bless you

I shall not prolong my stay an hour longer for the mine – I have begun upon the accounts. I think I shall leave this place about Monday sennight. Tom goes on Saturday.

f. 157. Anne, Malvern, Sept 25.

I find your letter on the table as a top dish on my return from a Worcester expedition. I am very glad you have reviewed & improved the line of the Plantation on Park Hill. I am sure that Plantation will be a very great improvement. I had always forgot to remind you of the notion (which your letter of today mentions) of letting the deer into the Rough Parks. I am very fond of that project. I am sure the ground will look much better in that way than by attempting to continue the Plantation where it does so ill. I suppose the potato patches you propose planting must be fenced separately. I charge you if the weather continues fine not to shut yourself up all day doing accounts. It has been much colder here the last day or two. The Worcester China is much improved & I think very cheap. The Hardwicke service is rather course but I think would answer our purpose very well as it looks remarkably clean & the shapes are not bad. A complete dinner & desert service for 12 or 14 people for £40 is very little. Paper is so scarce that I'm going to have recourse to the *** method.

f. 159. Grenville, Boconnoc, Sept 27 1813,
I wrote to you last night & I expect that your answer to this will be the last letter I shall receive from you here. On Tuesday there is no post, & I shall I think certainly be at Castle Hill on Wednesday. The accounts however are not yet has forward as I wished – I got part of them on Saturday & went summarily* thro' it, but there is so much to be explained that I find there is no use in going over it without him, & I have been obliged to give it back to him this morning, with a peremptory direction to come tomorrow morning with the whole completed. They appear accurate & correct & the labour of keeping them so very distinctly and minutely is certainly great, but this shows the inconvenience of letting them fall into arear. His cashbook & current books of ordinary expense seemed to have been kept (as they ought to be) regularly going on with the business they relate to, but his abstracts have not been made from time to time as they should, & now the whole is to be done together while I am here, & want him hourly for a hundred other things. Whether I shall ever be able to correct this I know not, but it is a very great inconvenience, & will again oblige me this year to hurry this business over in the last days of my stay instead of going quietly & methodically over it. If I were quite sure of the time you wish to leave Malvern I might better regulate my own motions. Having made this sacrifice to health for so long a time as you have already there it would be a pity to come away from there before you have fully tried the experiment of their benefits. The difference to me of going to Dropmore by Malvern or going there strait is not worth a thought, & when I leave Castle Hill I shall have no other object but to get to you where ever you are & as soon as I can. But it would torment me to leave the business here unsettled, tho' you may suppose I have no taste for staying here quite alone, to pass the day with Bowen & his account books – but I'm very reluctant to let him have the habit of seeing that these delays send me away with my business half done. I cannot in my conscience impute negligence to him, for I see no trace of it, but still they delay & procrastination worries me. Tom leaves me on Saturday he would I know stay longer if I desired it, but it would be quite unreasonable in me to do so. I am in great doubt what it is best to do with the Braddock downs, now that they are inclosed – whether to form new farms, or to lay parts only to the existing farms, or to reserve the whole, on a grand plan of planting the whole. I am by no means sure that ultimately the last would not be the best – but in that view we must much extend the nursery, & present planting establishment, & possibly make some new arrangement with Pond. On the side looking towards Lostwithiel there seems no doubt that a very good farm (a new one) may be made, of the Beacon [St Nighton's Beacon] hill & the rest of the ground below the new road, which was made when you came here last year. The buildings for this are quite as much as we can undertake at one time, & in the ***which the matter of the obelisk downs must rest, except that if the planting was decided on the necessary preparations of the ground might be gone on with: but I'm puzzled to decide when the grounds of decision are so uncertain, because I doubt whether trees will ever grow there, & I doubt also whether any very profitable farms can be made there, tho' it seems probable that we may do in this way more than enough to cover the expense. God bless you my dearest love. I have not been to the Castle & have given up all hopes of getting there this journey. Have you cured Mrs Springton's chimneys?

f. 165. Grenville, Boconnoc Sunday night [pencil 27 Sept 1813]

I have just got your letter of the 19th. You will have seen by mine of this morning that I expect to leave this place the 5th (Tuesday) & of course to get to Castle Hill Wednesday night. I think of staying there until the Monday following the 11th & I suppose at that time of the year I cannot be at Malvern till sometime in the course of the third day, at least not without more fatigue than the difference of a day is worth. If you think of staying there till the end of October that will give me still a fortnight or rather more to be with you there which I need not say I shall think much more than worth the journey. Nothing new for today. Penrose & Walker dined with us here yesterday but would not stay the night. I hope they got back thro' Lerrin Lane with bones unbroken but I would not answer for it. I fear our weather is changing again here, tho' today we have had no rain but less sun than for the last 10 days. I have stuck so many stakes for single trees that I do not know when he is to find time or hands to plant them. They are on both sides of the upper lawn, & against the Trevigo side of the Park. God bless you my dearest love.
I do not think it at all likely that anything will arise to prevent my being with you by the 14th the accounts seem in good order and well kept.

f.167. Anne, Malvern, Sep 27.
I have not heard from you the last two days. Do not fancy I am inclined to grumble at this quite the contrary. I have much rather you would take a walk in honour of me then write a letter when you have been Bowening half the day. I wish I could send you a little of our fine weather & of my leisure to enjoy it. Today has been perfect summer & I have hardly been in the house as long as daylight lasted. The Sneyds are a great addition to my comfort. I only knew her by meeting her at Lord Bathurst's but as I fancied she wants society as well as myself we are a good deal together. Not the least of her good qualities is having a sort of barouche. I didn't much fancy Mr Sneyd he looks rather cross but that poor man may be owing to his being bruised all over & having broke his hand by a fall downstairs a few days before he came here. Perhaps it is too soon to judge but I certainly do think that I'm essentially the better for the water. I feel this stiffness than I had done latterly & I walk a good deal without feeling the soreness I used to after it. This may be accidental but I really am inclined hope that it is not.

f. 169. Grenville, Boconnoc, Sept 28 1813.
I have been all this morning with Bowen and his accounts, so you must not expect a long letter. But I may possibly receive your answer to this before I go away, & I write to ask whether you recollect fixing which of the orange trees were to come to town. They are I am sorry to say all of them in very bad condition, & another winter here is likely to do them no good, the greenhouse being so much out of repair, & Pond probably having nothing of their management. Any that you wish to remove can only come toward June next if they are then alive some of them I fear are evidently on their last legs. God bless you. The expense of carriage will I fear be large possibly more than the trees are worth yet some of them I have no doubt might be recovered by heat. The rain has just begun again & the weather seems decidedly changing.

f. 171. Anne, Malvern, Sep 28.

I take it very ill that the mine should change so much for the worse just as I began to have some opinion of it. I cannot say however that I am much disappointed. I'm very glad that it seems likely soon to be decided whether we had better go on with it or not. So you see our prophecies are verified & poor Bulstrode Mansion & Park are advertised. I felt sure it would come to that. Malvern grows very dull almost all the agreeable dogs are gone. One of my best friends an invaluable Newfoundland I saw go off this morning tied to a coach box. I charge you not to fag yourself.

f. 173. Anne, Malvern, Sept 29.
I am not a little delighted with the hope of seeing you in a fortnight but I dare say you will not be able to get away from Boconnoc quite so soon as you now expect. I should certainly be inclined to stay here as long as the weather is tolerable to give the water a fair trial. I am taking measures to bottle a quantity so as to be able to continue it after I get home. I enclose a note for Mrs Rhind about some border for the chintz bed. I am sorry to find my letters are a week going to you perhaps this will not reach you at Boconnoc. If it does pray give old Jenny Wilcox a guinea. I mean at the cottage at the bottom of Helstone Road.

f. 174. Grenville, Boconnoc, Sept 30 1813.
I was not up early enough this morning to send you the inclosed which I am sure you will have great delight in reading, particularly in what relates to the concert, which surprises all his other great doings. How low and vulgar my notions were, when I suppose that the reception of my poor Sereneties would be an object of envy. I have no more intelligence to send you from hence. I get on, but not very quick, with my business, nor can I yet well foresee within a day or two more or less the time of my closing it tho' I still continue to talk stoutly of going on Tuesday, & and indeed not without hope of accomplishing it. The accounts were however by no means ready & he is finishing one part while I am going ever another which is by no means the most convenient or expeditious way of doing such business, & gives him a sort of example of an incomplete way of *** such concerns which I do not think good. Since I wrote this I have pretty nearly convinced myself that Tuesday is quite out of the question. How many days later I know not, but as I shall be quite alone, I shall of course not be very patient of delay. The mining concern promises ill, & may I think be considered as something very like hopeless. But in two or three days we shall know more.

f. 176. Anne, Malvern, Oct 1.
I have received today your two letters of the 27th & 28th together. The post is now so irregular that I doubt whether you will get my answer unless you are kept longer than you expect which does not seem unlikely to be the case. It would certainly be a pity to have the business unfinished though I do not like the thoughts of you shut up at Boconnoc all alone. One can perfectly understand Bowen's being a little behind hand in the abstracts with all he has had to do & all the unnecessary employment he has given himself. It is not the less teasing to you however. As to the orange trees I am afraid I do not recollect them well enough to describe those I had picked out. They were what appeared to me the four best. One orange tree I think was decidedly better than the others & used to stand in the little place adjoining the greenhouse. I think there was another orange tree, not so good & one rather smaller that has a

tendency to be round headed & that I thought a different leaf. I rather think the fourth was a lemon or citron. You will judge best whether they are worth sending as the expense will be considerable. I suppose heat would bring them round but it would be some time first. Good plants but smaller would be about 10 s a piece. It is certainly a difficult thing to decide about Braddock Downs perhaps in the doubt it might be as well to order more seeds than usual to be sewn. I fancy there are plenty of acorns. If there are not seeds of the Pinaster in sufficient quantity they are not dear in Town. The little inlaid Florence box is I believe packed up & I think must come by the wagon. The two ebony chairs & the little stone table in the East closet were to come. Perhaps they may go by sea if other things are sent. You talked of ordering a few plants Beech especially but perhaps you want all you have at Boconnoc. Our stay here must I suppose depend a little upon the weather when winter fairly sets in I think this place would be intolerable. Otherwise I should certainly be inclined to stay on to give the water a fair trial I have no idea it can be of any real use unless it is persevered in for some time. Since I have been here the weather in general has been very dry heavy rains spoil the water. I suppose therefore we can hardly stay beyond the first week of November if so long. The chimney is much improved but not cured. Follow my example in taking care of yourself.

f. 180. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 1 1813.
I have nothing new since I sent my letter off this morning except perhaps an increased conviction that the lead mine is <u>not worth a button</u>,, as the Captain himself yesterday told Bowen, tho' the latter is slow to admit this disappointment of his sanguine hopes, and a persuasion that Thursday or Friday are now the very earliest days that I can look to with any confidence for leaving this place. But I write to thank you particularly for the very satisfactory intelligence I rec'd from you last night, & of the apparent benefit you derive from Malvern . This might at once to decide you to continue there not only to the very utmost extent of Baillies two months but as much longer as you can find the place anyway tenable for the cold, which I am afraid you must expect in November in so high a situation. Whether I come to you a few days earlier or later is of no sort of consequence except for the pleasure I shall have in being with you again. But I will get away the moment I can & you will not imagine me disposed to delay it unnecessarily. What is of real moment is that you should take the fullest & longest advantage of that benefit which you have found there, & I make my most earnest entreaty to you that you will do so. I shall take my saddle horses with me to Castle Hill, to have them with me while I am there so that they will not arrive at Malvern till after me, & I have no doubt that at that season we shall find lodgings for them. God bless you my dear dear love – You were quite right, about the Downs – it was my geography that was in default. I more & more inclined to think some scheme of gradual planting the best that can be adopted for that part of our allotment. Zeph is helping me to write this & desires to be particularly remembered to dear Mistress. I have marked I believe they near three times as many single trees for planting, as I ever did in any former year. I am afraid we shall see the effects in Mr Bowen's account of cradle fences next year, but there is no resisting & the weather is so fine, & the place looks so beautiful, & one sees every where the want of more trees, & the success of those we have already planted, & which are far beyond my utmost expectations. I hope you will approve of the places I have chosen for them. Today we stuck

almost twenty stakes in Prouda Park, to break & vary the two lines of beeches there. Oct. 2. Tom leaves me this morning for Castle Hill.

f. 184. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 3 1813.
I am afraid here is a real end of our fair weather here. It does not rain hard today, but a thorough Cornish mist, which however did not prevent my getting a good walk before church. Friday is the day I now look to be setting off. I hope before I go to have brought the business of the inclosure to an end in so far I mean as respects the allotments. There will remain a good deal of road making & hedging to be done. Tom went yesterday, & was to try a new way by Launceston, Torrington & Holsworthy which is to be six or seven miles shorter than the other whether better remains to be seen. God Bless You my Dearest Love. Oct 4. It is time to be gone we have had a sharprain this morning, so that I can hardly see ten yards beyond the window.

f. 186. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 4 1813.
Fine weather this for settling accounts. I have however walked as far as the lodges thro' a Cornish mist as thick & white as I ever saw, & am come back much wetted, & ready for my dinner, which however I cannot say is quite as cheerful without you as with you. In my way I stopped at the mine, and settled with Mr Jones to abandon all further prosecution of the lode in the present shaft, as it seems to succeed no better to the north than to the south. As a last trial we are to open a shaft which has been nearly filled very near the top of the hill (the Park Hill) & which seems to have been the place where the work stopped when it was last carried on. I believe it was mentioned in one of Bowen's letters which you saw that there are three or four shafts in a southern line from the present shaft, up the hill. The works at these must have been considerable as to afford a strong presumption that for a part at least of that line the mine was worked to profit. We have tried it at one end, & it has there utterly failed. Jones is confident & apparently with great reason that our present engine will drain the highest shaft as readily as it does that in which it is erected, because the former has been apparently filled in with deads or rubbish, which of course will not hold water, & the bottom of this highest shaft will in all probability be somewhat higher than that of the lowest shaft which they make in (or very near) the valley, & therefore some fathoms higher than the depth to which we have worked it. The expense therefore will be only that of throwing out the rubbish, not so much as sinking a well to that depth. He puts it at about £30, & with this he thinks, & so indeed it seems that we shall have made a tolerably fair trial of the mine by examining it at both ends of the old work. I was the man indeed to come into this proposal because it was that very plan which I wished to have suggested to him, but was deterred by a notion that the expense would have been very much greater. Something will of course depend on the nature of the walls of the shaft he is going to work upon. If they are loose, he must board against them – but if, as is much more likely, they are solid rock like the other, no such precaution will be wanted except perhaps on the side of the old horizontal working when he gets down so low. After the failure of the other experiment, there is no doubt a very great probability we shall find that to the south as well as to the north, the work was abandoned only because the lode was too poor to pay. – Still it is worth incurring so small an expense as this to make the trial complete. It is no doubt possible (nay not improbable,) that by pursuing the lode

northward in the present shaft we might come to where it enlarges again – but this is all uncertain. When I came here the lode they were digging down upon was 18 inches in breadth – it is not scarce two in the horizontal line in which they have been working for the last four or five days. It might suddenly enlarge again, but until it did so the expense of every six feet we drive would be from £20 to 30, & what we raise would hardly do much more than pay the expenses of what 191 they call dressing or separating the metal from the rest of the mineral: all the expense of raising the ore would consequently be so much dead loss. This a staunch mining adventurer would not regard if you hoped for better success further on, but we have no temptation to indulge in such projects. Should the lode at the bottom of the shaft we are now going to explore be no better than in the other we shall certainly desist, nor indeed will I pursue it except it is rich enough to pay the working.
I am still doubtful within a day or two as to getting away. I doubt whether it will be sooner than Monday. I hope you will have gone on writing to me here.

f. 192. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 5 1813
I begin to abandon all idea of getting away from here before Monday I get on very slowly with the accounts which are still by no means complete it, & there remains behind the inclosure & I know not what besides. I must exert myself to prevent this arrear another time. But if I give way to it now I must consider all future amendment as hopeless. Vexatious it is no doubt to be kept here alone so long a time, & that for want of a candid avowal at the beginning of the state in which the business was – but if I meet it firmly now it will I hope save much future embarrassment of the same description.Beyond Monday I cannot be detained because I have suffered him, which I rather regret to fix the business of his Courts for next week. I much doubt whether I shall ever then have got thro' all I ought, but my turning my back upon it then will be unavoidable because he could not be there to do it with me. All that I have yet done I could have done in two days at most if he had been ready for me. It will in this way be the 18th or 20th before I shall join you at Malvern, but I will certainly come then, because I wish you to stay as long as ever your quarters are tenable. If I see any chance of going sooner I will write, but at all events you must secure quarters for me & my cavalry by the time I mention. We have rather better weather but not much – the rainy season is set in.

f. 194. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 6 1813.
I have made more progress today, and I reckon now on being at Castle Hill on Tuesday or so. I will stay there till the Monday following, & that will bring me to Malvern on the 20th. I think I shall have finished all that is absolutely necessary by Saturday night, & might leave this place on Sunday, but that of course I do not quite like especially as it happened that we came here on a Sunday – and indeed I shall not be sorry to have one quiet day to recollect anything that may be left undone. I have not seen Pond to talk to him about the orange trees & perhaps he may remember which you chose – they all look very ill, & will I am sure not last above a year or two longer. The granite we ordered is at Fowey, but it seems not worth while to send it, as we agreed that the old Jupiter looks so much better on his term than on a pedestal. The blocks may do to stick upon some Hill here, & I think therefore of having them brought back to the house. I will settle about sending the marbles. I should be afraid the

ebony things would spoil with the wet in a sea voyage. We are sinking in the upper shaft, but my own persuasion is that they never went down there so deep as to the level of the mine. My reason is that all we now throw out is surface earth, & such stone as lies near the surface of our ground. The pit has clearly been filled in, & if they had gone down to the rock it is probable that the fragments of that working would have been thrown in indiscriminately with the top earth & stones, & would consequently come out together. But the lode seems to rise with the Hill, which is likely enough, as we found it makes away from us at the bottom shaft. They have got down about 30 feet, & Jones says he already sees traces of the lode, or rather of the first appearances below which the lode runs. I am sorry I did not order this trial to be made a week ago, as he thinks a week or ten days would now bring down this shaft to the level of the bottom shaft – until this is done we cannot judge much, but I will not wait for it, for to say the truth my expectations are very low indeed, instead of being as I own they were in the first fortnight of my being here, proportionately high. …..The appearances of the lode so near the surface I think a very unfavourable circumstance, because it is to be concluded that in the old working all that could be very easily be got at was worked. If it had lain deeper we might ascribe the discontinuance to other causes.

f. 198. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 7 Morning.
I have now fixed everything for going on Monday. I shall be at Castle Hill Tuesday & will stay there to the following Monday, which will bring me to you on the Wednesday. We had a finish day yesterday, & after I had finished all that Bowen had for me I had time to enjoy it a good deal I am throwing three or four large slabs of slate stone to make a communication* rather than a bridge across the Brook about halfway between the gate into Milcombe (from the house) & the Stonebridge. It will be little seen, that will make a convenient passage where we had planned it before. Unluckily just which I was cautioning it comes the ***& breaks off a large bough, the largest, from a fine oak near it. I did not see it till yesterday, & have sent Pond down to cut it off this morning. It spoils the beauty of the tree for the present, but will I hope not ultimately injure it. I also planned a rectification at the Stewardry. – It will leave the Woodhouse standing, as I rather relent about it – & move the laurel hedge, not that opposite to the house, but the other that slopes down the hill. Those laurels Pond is confident he can move safely, & I think so too, so as to cover the Woodhouse completely in a few years, & the continuation of the Rookery Walk will go in front of them, & so down the hill, thro' the other laurels, to the little wooden [the remainder of this letter appears to be lost.]

f 200. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 8 1813
I see I shall have difficulty enough in getting away from here on Monday – that is if I mean to stay till my business is done. What is provoking is that I am here all this time doing nothing, but waiting for accounts & abstracts which it was Bowen's duty to have had ready before I came down. If I had not let him fix his Courts for next week which I now much repent I should certainly have been kept here another week. As it is I really am in great doubt what to do I have not seen him all today. He was to have had his abstracts ready for me this morning but it is now ***& he has never been near me. – Too plain a proof that he is not ready. Sending for him would only make an interruption & increase the delay so there is no remedy but patience. So to amuse myself I have gone out in the violent uninterrupted rain which we

have had the whole day, & when I got so wet that I could walk no longer I came home & dressed, and here I am plaguing you with my grievances. I enclose a letter from Lord ***. I suppose somehow or other his cows will find their way to us, not I hope at Malvern or Boconnoc, but at Dropmore. But when the place is clear you are to send for them. I have not. So much tardiness about these eternal accounts would certainly justify a suspicion that all is not right. But I am satisfied there is not the smallest ground for this.I have gone thro' his cashbook, & enormous as the expenditure has been (about £4000 spent here in something less than a year) it is all vouched & the balance in his hands if any, can be but very small. But at I am sure the whole labour of referring the items to their different heads, (almost the only real use of his accounts) has been entirely neglected & was not begun upon until long after my arrival here. If I cannot correct this another year there is no remedy but parting with him, for a repetition of this scene would be quite intolerable & indeed equally bad for master and servant. Much as your society would relieve the ennui of this protracted solitude in which (at least in such weather as this) I have no employment but what I can make to myself out of my books at the expense of my eyes, I am still glad you are not here to partake in the worry of this daily disappointment. I have not been to the mine working today, but tomorrow if I can get there I expect to close the whole concern, & finally abandon it. It is curious enough that the lode seems to rise with the hill, which if there were stuff enough in it would be a very favourable circumstance but it will I believe be convicted of the crime of hopeless poverty.

f 204. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 9 1813
I do not at this hour feel any certainty at not being kept here till Tuesday. Indeed of the two I must say I believe it is most likely tho' I do not allow myself to say so. I could perhaps with hard work gets thro' it so as to get away latest on Monday, but I am not fond of hurrying business even in the last moment. It is now near three o'clock, & I have not yet got either the abstracts of the accounts, or the scheme of the inclosure. The former I am promised by the time I have dined, the latter tomorrow morning by breakfast. But this very statement I think to clearly shows that I shall do best to put off my journey till Tuesday instead of overworking myself tonight & tomorrow – and so I shall probably decide. If I do I will steal that one day out of my Castle Hill visit, & will still be with you by the Wednesday in the following week. I cannot satisfy myself what to do about his foolish Woodhouse. I have been making Pond stake a line for a walk, allowing thickness enough for laurels in front of this nuisance but that brings walk & laurels so much too forward that I hesitate about making an improvement with which perhaps after all when it is done neither you nor I shall be satisfied. On the other hand if I delay it I lose a year in planting this abomination out. I wish you were here to decide it for me. I really believe the shortest way would be the best. I shall never bring myself to look at it with any patience. Yet I did mean to remove the nuisance in front of his house to that situation, tho' far behind this building – & this would give me the means of addressing it against his odious Woodhouse. Suppose I cut his Woodhouse in half & leave half only standing to make it more abominable (or as he thought a more beautiful object from the Beech Walk) he has built it projecting lengthways against the intended walk, & it is that which shoves the walk so much too forward. There is a useless projection in front taken I suppose from some Planery [Book of Plans] or rather, which I did tell him to knock off, & this will give us two or three feet, but that is nothing. It would take me more than the 24

hours he allows me for doing my whole business to decide what to do with this grievance, especially in your absence when I need not say my first & principal object is to make the whole place a little less shocking to you than I fear it will appear at first sight. By living here one gets reconciled to the disaster, & looks only at the beauties, but I am really afraid you will find it at first worse than you expect. Since I wrote the above I have got his abstracts. They are frightful, & put all idea of going away from here on Monday quite out of the question I cannot think of leaving this place till I have put this enormous expense in some train of real and effective reduction. I very much fear that we must renounce all idea of planting on Braddock downs. We must restrain the planting expense within a fixed limit, & do only so much annually as that will afford. It is true the great expense of the planting is the fencing. The staves alone (excluding posts, rails, & alternate pails of our own wood) of the two clumps we planted last year in the park cost £100 & so of all the rest. The fencing in the Braddock downs would be a small expense, indeed if we could (which is impossible) plant the whole in one year it need be no more than the outer fences against the roads which anyhow we are bound to make. But then we make the whole expense incurred for the inclosure, & besides a certain expense of £2000 as the least original cost of planting 200 acres, we must incur a considerable annual charge in pruning & filling up – and this I know not how we can look at with the expensive establishment which it seems unavoidable for us to maintain here. He has got the accounts back to form an estimate of further & reduced expence When all this will let me go I know not. It is a great additional mortification to me that I fear I shall receive no more of your letters here. The expence of the Deer is very great from which we derive nothing but a haunch of venison now & then when we are here – & how little this is you see. This however I do not like touching because I know you are averse to it. The whole rent that Bowen receives falls short of £4000 & we have this year spent more than that sum at this place – so that in fact we stand not quite so well as if you had no other property in Cornwall but the clay mine. I am sure you will agree with me in the necessity of putting an end to this state of things. Yet it is not easy to do. Very difficult in the detail, tho' in the gross the necessity of it is but too apparent. God bless you my sweetest love, do not think all this plagues me. You know I have a power & command of myself for matters of real importance that I have not for those that are less so. I really do begin now to hesitate about Malvern. I cannot totally give up the Castle Hill visit – they would really take it ill & have some reason to do so, if this brings me to you within the last week of your stay that would hardly be worth while. I shall however see more tomorrow & Monday. I hardly expect to get away before Wednesday perhaps not then.

f 212. Grenville, Boconnoc, Sunday morning [pencil 10 Oct 1813],
I think it now clear that I had best give up all idea of coming to you at Malvern. Wednesday or Thursday seem the earliest days that I can leave this place, & if I give four or five days to Castle Hill there would hardly remain as many such for my being with you at Malvern. Tho' it is not amusing to remain here I have every reason to rejoice in my steady determination to do so till the accounts were brought into such a shape as would shew me the real heads, & nature of this enormous expense. When I only looked over his cash book I had deceived myself into a belief that the *** tho' I saw it was very large, consisted chiefly of such outlayings as would repay us in increased value to the estate. This is by no means the case.

What is called the ordinary expence is not less than 17 or 1800 pounds, & with great difficulty admit of any reduction. The extraordinary expense being more than as much again is in very great part, planting, fencing, & improvements, either of his or our own, about the place & park, or else in more waste & folly. I hope to put it before I go on a footing on which we can suffer it to remain, tho' even then the annual charge will form a very serious deduction from our income. Last year all that was wrong was attributed to Sharman, and & fear if I had not come down here at all or gone away without insisting on having the accounts made out into an intelligible form, the whole thing would have gone on, & indeed increased, as expenses are always increasing, without our being aware of it, or indeed I believe his knowing it himself. I am not to see him today, but tomorrow he is to bring me his view of the future expence & I fear I shall find it very large. When we meet at Dropmore I will shew you what I have done upon it, & probably there will be one or two questions that I shall not feel satisfied to decide without you. So I will torment you no more about it now, but depend upon it I will not come away from here to be I think I have done all I can. Do you remember eight lines in Aristo of which the enclosed are a bad imitation rather than a translation? Put them in the fire when you have read them. You know you are the only confidant of my poetry, which is good for nothing but sometimes to save my eyes in an evening when I should otherwise be reading.
From Aristo. 19. 1.
None ever learnt' midst Fortune's smile
The (see note) Heart to know,
When Faith sincere, and Flattery's wile
Alike in friendly seeming shew.
Tis when her giddy wheel goes round,
Scattering aloof the servile train,
That Friends are proved, and faithful found
And even in Death unchanged remain.

f 217. Grenville, Boconnoc, Oct 11 1813.
I have settled to leave this place on Thursday by which day I am confident I shall have finished all I can now do here. I shall be at Castle Hill on Friday – write to me there & say whether you wish me, or not, to come to you at Malvern. I will do just as you desire about it. I am writing this at night so I will not prolong it.

f 218. Grenville Launceston, [Pencil 15 Oct 1813].
I write this to you from Launceston where I arrived yesterday, & am setting out Castle Hill. I had not time to write on the two last days at Boconnoc. I am afraid I have not done much more than to ascertain how little could be done. Mine stopped. Let me hear from you at C H. If you wish me to come to Malvern say-so. I am half inclined to it already.

f 220. Grenville, Castle Hill, Oct 16 1813.
I got your letter of the 13th this morning I am most decidedly of opinion that so long as you feel that you continue to derive benefit from the water, & that the place can be made in any way tenable, you should continue there and should not hesitate to add that I would in the

three days more leave this place to join you there, if I were not embarrassed about this meeting of parliament. Reluctant as I always am to mix myself in such a scene of knaves and fools I am of course not less so when the effect of going there is to be the keeping myself longer at a distance from you. If it were not for you I verily believe I should never see London again & it seems therefore very perverse to go there when I might be with you elsewhere. But I find there is a disposition to hold in the House of Lords a language about peace to which I cannot subscribe or in which nonetheless if I did not go there, & state my own opinion, I shall be sure to be included. There is not the least chance of Greys being there, not only because he is at so much a greater distance, but also from the illness of his children if that (of which I suppose you have seen the account in the papers) should continue. Were he there I am confident he would be as averse as I should from any language that should recommend it to this country to desert the cause of Europe when for the first time the rest of Europe begins to be really sensible that the cause is theirs quite as much as ours & indeed much more. [See; The Battle of the Nations, Leipzig 16-19 October 1813]. To London therefore, in the first week of November, in spite of all my hatred of it I must go I hope only for a day or two before the meeting, & for one <u>single</u> days Parliamentary attendance but that will as completely take me away from Malvern as if I meant to attend regularly every day of the session. But if the effect of this should be to make you think of leaving more than one days sooner than you otherwise would that is more than all the speechifying I ever made or ever shall make can be worth – & unless you give me your positive promise that this shall not be the case, I shall send all the politicians grazing, & you may expect me to arrive on a post horse. I will stay here till I get your answer, & if it is satisfactory I will go on to Dropmore taking probably Bowood on my way, but if you think of moving sooner than you are obliged to by absolute necessity I shall come & tie you to your chair. We are told the Queen [Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, wife of George III] says she could not have been better received at Dropmore had we been there. This I observe is rather an equivocal compliment, & as her Majesty's visit was certainly more agreeable to me in my absence I may not unreasonably suppose the feeling reciprocal. We must however take the complement as they say a Frenchman does in its best sense. Zephyr was shocked to hear of Di's depravity. He for his part is perfect. It went to my heart to turn poor Lertes back. She waited to follow the carriage, & has never been away from me except when I was upstairs which was tabooed. I find the inn at Launceston better than Okehampton, & after sleeping very ill the three or four last nights at Boconnoc, I passed, perhaps for that very reason, as good a night at Launceston as I could have wished. I do not know that the road from thence by Holsworthy & Torrington to this place is worse than that from Okehampton here. It is certainly not better, & there is more length of bad road. You pay less in <u>miles</u> but in <u>time</u> I think the distance either way is nearly the same, a more fatiguing journey of 50 miles is not I supposed to be found in the whole compass of the Island. The house here is no doubt greatly improved by what has been done to it tho' you would find much to criticize, & the saloon is anything but comfortable with its whited walls, & white curtains & black lamps glaring just on a level with one's eyes, & two little <u>benches</u> rather than stools of 2 feet long stock one on each side of the far & a square one opposite to it, without a table within a mile of them. I wish I knew what books to send you from Bath. I could easily make it in my way home, & from there could send you

anything you would like. God bless you my dearest love, I do not like your saying that you do not think you gain as much…….[Missing page]

f 226. Grenville. [no date].
If the horse-dog carries you well, & to your satisfaction, surely you had best purchase him – never mind his carrying you a hunting – if he does the D of Cumberland will take care of you, especially as you may see by the inclosed which I rec'd yesterday, that he is now a family man.

f 227. Grenville, Castle Hill Oct 19 1813.
[Added at the top: You have never said what money you want. The shortest way would be for you to draw upon Coutts, & if you will let me know it I will appraise him of it accordingly].
I got the Okehampton mail safe this morning, together with your letter of the 10th. We had a delicious day yesterday & I was out walking with my sister & riding with Ebrington [The eldest son of the 1st Lord Fortescue] the whole day. This morning it is a white frost & Fortescue says there is ice. It is a bright day & I hope to enjoy it. Whether I had forgot my former impressions of this place, or whether as she says the plantations, trees & hedges are grown I know not but it certainly strikes me much more this time than I expected.What they have done to the east of the house in laying the shrubbery to it is a very great improvement. You may remember it was quite confined & hedged up on that side. The view from the house is, & always must be, the worst thing about the place, & the Turnpike Road coming in front of it & thro' the middle of the Valley would vex me very much if the place were mine. But the beauty of the Park & its real river is very great indeed, & will be much increased by carrying their fence, as they propose, a good deal higher up that valley. Fortescue has just got from Sir Thos Ackland a farm that bounded him in on that side – it is a great acquisition. They are talking about exchanging the Glebe & moving the Parsonage, & my brother has urged them so much to take the first step towards it, by completing the agreement, and getting the act passed, now that they have a parson & Bishop to their minds that I rather hope they will go as far as that. The expense of pulling down & rebuilding the house will certainly be great especially as it must in fact to be rebuilt before it is pulled down. But I think if the act was once passed they would not be long before they carried it into execution. Tom is very busy sticking old vases about the slopes before the house, & laying out oval beds of flowers upon. It is much admired, & I held my peace, & perhaps it is as well or even a little better with them than without them – but in truth they only show the want of much more, & much richer decoration.

I think I shall go from here Monday, & perhaps take Bowwood [sic] in my way for a single day. I shall not have more than time to look at Dropmore before I go to that execrable place London – but at least I will not stay there long, & when I get back to Dropmore I need not tell you that I shall still miss its prime recommendation. But I repeat it, do not hurry – but get all from Malvern that that it can give. ….

f 231. Grenville, Castle Hill, Oct 21 1813.

I got your letter this morning. As you have decided to come to Dropmore & to London in the beginning of November, we have settled Tom & I to come to Malvern to fetch you. We shall be with you on Monday. We leave this place on Saturday & we could do it with exertion in two days but we think it better to give ourselves half a day more. Bowood was quite out of the question. Mrs Stael* and Miss Stael were to be there, & I know not how many marquis and contes & barons to meet there. Ebrington is here. He goes to town for the meeting but I have no doubt it will be very thin. You are the only living person, myself not accepted, who cares one farthing about my speechification or anybody's else. We are all in terrible fear of Bonaparte & our fright makes us bold. We run blindfold into every other danger if we can but stave that off. I hear Canning is dying to have his finger in the pye, but the ministers will not indulge him, & why should they? It looks as if Abbot meant to take shelter among our Lordships, from the description of his speech which he would find it difficult to justify either by precedent or principle. …. You will take care of Tom's being lodged – at this season I suppose it will not be difficult. I shall not bring my horses.

f. 233. Grenville, Castle Hill, Oct 22.
We set out tomorrow & sleep at Taunton. We go by Clifton, which I shall be delighted to see again. Bristol we contrived to miss. We shall I think be with you by dinner on Monday, but it depends a little on the weather so do not wait if the day should be very fine we may probably walk about a little both at Clifton & at Gloucester. P***is delighted at the thought of seeing Mistress & Di. – I got all your Boconnoc letters this morning.

Appendix 2 c: The 1822 Correspondence between Grenville, at Boconnoc, and Anne, caught up at Longleat by infection in that house

f. 235. Grenville Dropmore Oct 5 1822
…. It is something that the accounts are not worse, but I fear there is certainly still room for great uneasiness. I do not feel quite at ease as to what Ldy L says of the danger of infection. You know I am not apt to take unreasonable alarms on that subject, but I do hope you will ascertain from exactly how the case stands in that respect and I am sure you will not forget the duty of not exposing yourself to unnecessary danger. You're being <u>in the House</u> may be of great use to them all, & in various ways, & you will do me the justice to remember that I, for that reason, made no opposition to it. But you being <u>in the room</u> can be no real service, & if there is any danger of infection might bring upon those you love a misery which I dread even to think of. …. We have had two beautiful afternoons here, & the mountain [Root Mound] is gradually growing, & I have with excellent effect cut some of the ash out of the copse, which has opened all Burnham Beeches. I shall go over on Friday to Cashiobury,[Lord Essex] & I will say that if you are come back you will do the same. But I

conclude that even in the best that can be hoped you will hardly like to leave *** so soon, & I earnestly hope & pray that nothing may happen to bring you back under circumstances in which certainly neither you, nor therefore I, shall go to Cashiobury. [Lord Essex].

f. 237. Grenville, Dropmore, Oct 8 1822.
I have just received three letters from you at once, & am delighted with so very good an account as the last contains. Lord Essex has written to my brother to put us all off to Tuesday in next week (the 15th) I propose to accept his invitation, & to stay there till Friday, or Saturday, probably the latter. I do not see the least reason for your hurrying away from L [Longleat] sooner than you may otherwise wish to do, for the purpose of going to Cashiobury. Pray do in this exactly what you think best, & most agreeable. My brother & Rogers will be there, & will come over here on the Saturday. …. The gravel walk is finished to the Birch tree, & the alterations of that near the tent has made much progress. I have staked two lines for that thro' Tucker's copse but will not decide upon them until you return. I find that the lowest looks much the best when you come out of the copse. The mountain keeps growing, & about 1/3 of the circle of the wall has attained its height. The foundation of the grape house was begun yesterday & gone on with today, but we have had much rain today.

f. 239. Grenville, Dropmore, Oct 9 1822.
I am rejoiced to hear so prosperous an account of your doings at Longleat, tho' I have no faith in the gout as a cure for any other disorder, but it is very well if those who are wiser than I am think it is. The sale of Fonthill is in the papers today. I do not envy Mr Farquhar his bargain if he has given £330,000 as they say for the whole as it stands. I wonder what fortune he has remaining to enable him to live in it. Who he is I know not, & to be sure this is a curious country, for a ruined one, when a man steps forward from behind the scenes, and makes such a purchase. …. Last year I might have realized the whole arrear, [of a tenant of a farm at Dropmore] by persisting in the distress – but I do not regret an act of good nature, nor I know will you. The difficulty that remains is to let the farm, which is now in my own hands, & will lead to increased expense which we can but ill afford. Howard of Burnham is nibbling at it, but he has taken two or three days to give his answer. Abbott has persuaded me to enlarge the grape house by lengthening it 10 or 12 feet, which he says he can do with the Loudon sashes, with hardly any addition of expense. I should have liked to know your wishes, but there was not time as both the foundations & the wood work must be gone on with without delay to save time. Our winter is coming on fast – we have had yesterday & today the equinoxial storms, high winds, & from almost every quarter, with much rain. Crawfurd says the farmers predict a severe winter, but I believe they know about as much of the weather as I do, & no more. I think the additional run cannot but be agreeable & useful to you, and Baillie [gardener] is very confident as indeed I am myself, that the flu will be abundantly sufficient for warming it. Lord Essex has changed his mind again & asked me for the 13th. I go to him the 14th (Monday). God bless you. I will tell Baillie about the geraniums but I hope there is no hurry for them – for altho' very blustery, the weather is still very warm.

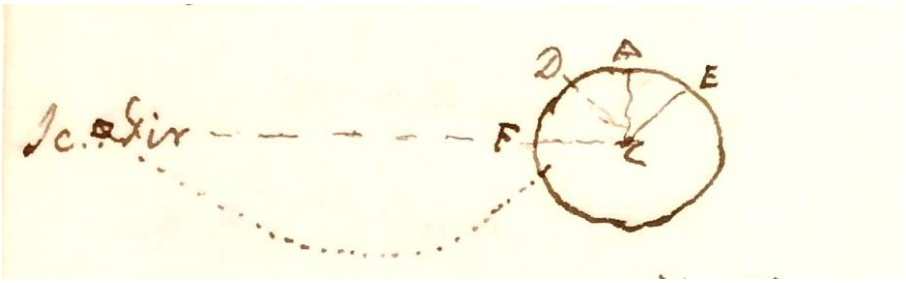
f. 243. Grenville, Dropmore, Oct 10 1822.

I hope my letters will have found their way to L,leat tho' they seem to travel very slowly. Mr Strong's coming on Monday is rather perverse, but I dare say he will be here time enough to settle everything with him before I go to Cashiobury. I think it much better that you should not think of leaving l,leat till the Tuesday or Wednesday in next week. I reckon to be back here early on Thursday morning, quite as early I mean as your breakfast time. Peake goes to town tomorrow to pay the quarters bills & returns on Saturday. I mentioned this lest you should send any directions to him here in the interval. I write this evening to Strong to desire him if it is the same to him not come until Thursday. We are now in the midst of the equinoxial rains, & the weather may be better but cannot well be worse for this little job. ….I delivered your message to Baillie, & he is so uppish with the notion of his new greenhouse that he said he should take in all the geraniums. What he exactly means by all I did not think much worth enquiry, as of course it includes all that are worth saving. [This sounds like the break with Baillie] The tent walk will I think be finished tomorrow kerbing & all, & I have not quite determined what to put Burnham to, but I think it will be finishing the walk in front of the arcade, & round to the east end of the house. God bless you. ….

f. 245. Grenville, Dropmore Oct 11 1821 [pencil marked 1822]
Everything is going on here as usual. We have some delicious weather in the middle of the day, which enables me to go on with the works, & in the evening much rain, which was too much wanted to allow us to grumble at it. The whole South and West front of the root walk are finished, all but about one, or at the most two sticks at the So.East end, which I expect to finish today, or at furthest tomorrow. The back walk towards the wood I have purposely kept lower because I have some doubt whether the walk at the back of the intended building should not be kept at a lower level, in order to carry it round at the same height to the top of the staircase - this however may easily be settled hereafter. I reckon we shall finish tomorrow all the work about the wall – While I am absent they will go on raising the gravel which is already up to the level of the bottom of the bench (which has never been moved) & in many places much higher. When I come back we will go on with the staircase, for which I have an excellent cherry tree, to serve as a sort of <u>banister</u> from top to bottom. The top of the wall is formed all round of ash struts, many of them already quite covered with ivy, which Winch is today bedding, & manuring. I have great hopes of saving a large proportion of it. I think you will like it when you see it. The grape house is going on, & the walks finished all but a little sprinkling, as Burnham calls it, of fine gravel on the top of the tent walk. I wish we had settled that thro' Tucker's copse before you went, but I feel almost sure you will prefer the lower line, which goes into the copse <u>below</u> the little pond. ….

f. 247. Dropmore Oct 12 1822
I am much disappointed with your bulletin received this morning. Fowler however had before given new reason to expect that there would be some <u>risks</u>, & I hope this is only one of them. Pray consult your own feelings only as to your return. I learned this morning from my brother that all these changes of days on the part of Ld E are nothing but contrivances not to lose the first day of Drury Lane, & as this is now put off from Monday to Wednesday it would not be popular at Cashiobury that we should stay there longer than Wednesday morning. We are all there therefore, Rogers, he, & I, to be here to dinner on Wednesday, & as I shall be impatient

to get back to my mountain I shall set off by break of day. A propos to said mountain, a difficulty has occurred to me in scheming about the new building, & its approach, which I do not well know how to manage I am afraid I can hardly explain it you on paper, & if I do you could hardly have much opinion about it without seeing the ground. Perhaps the inclosed sketch may give you some idea of it, tho' I have not left myself room to lay down what constitutes the real difficulty. Suppose the circle A F B (that marked by a continued line,) to be the building has now intended. It will have six feet of terrace all round, which carries the emplacement or level at the top of the mountain back to b.b. being 18 feet from the centre C. Then the strait line from C to A (which is at the foot of the steps or to a.a if there was room for it, which would be six feet further, & would touch the inside of the root wall) – this straight line is the direction of the opening of the building to Windsor and the lines C. D. & C. D are the directions of the two other openings as you had planned them. But the two gravel walks to the mount now come in, both of them far behind even the point F, which is the place where C. F. , drawn at right angles to A. B. strikes the building – so that instead of directing the line of approach to the centre of the building & of the terrace it takes a great sweep back to the North, seemingly for the only purpose of striking against the blank wall at the back of the building whose only openings are to be at A. D & F. & E.



Whereas the strait line C. F. If prolonged would nearly, I believe exactly, strike the Scotch fir, now left on the west side of the plantation. The only remedy that I yet see practicable is to throw the whole building six feet back to the north edge of the terrace, leaving 12 feet instead of six from A to a.a but you may object to this. Since I wrote this long dissertation, I have been to the works again, & I think see clearly that I can do without setting the centre back at all, or at the utmost not more than a foot, by bringing the bank on which the front wall must run considerably forward than it now is, but still keeping some sweep.I went yesterday down to the warf, but the answer was that the water was too low for any barge to come that, & that it would not be possible before tomorrow, & if not tomorrow then not till Tuesday. This depends therefore on their letting down what they call flashes from the locks above. It will therefore be much better if Mr Strong does not come until I return but before you can receive this letter that will have been decided one way or another. Rowe & Williamson are quitting, having got small situations as the gardener tells me, & I have agreed to let him send up for one of the Frosts from Boconnoc [This was to be Philip Frost, later Head Gardener]. Rowe's place he says he can fill with a young man he knows, & who is very fit for it. Whether he can attend your birds as well I know not.

f. 251. Wednesday [pencil Oct 1822]
Your letter could not but be painful to me, but I answer it with the most perfect good humour & warmest affection. With respect of the thinning at Cabrook (especially in any part of the outline of the wood) so very little has been done or ordered to be done by me that I hardly know to what you refer. When you were last upon that ground you expressed to me some regret that one bush had been cut. It was I believe a part of the old hedge, & stood close before another & better bush, which is likely very soon to supply its place. It was Ridgwell I believe who suggested to me that it ought to be cut, & I thought this so clear as to admit of no doubt. If you think, or would have thought, otherwise, I heartily wish the bush was now standing there. With this single exception I am not aware that (at least as far as I am concerned) one twig has been altered in the whole outline from the octagon down to the bottom, to make it different from what you had yourself directed & approved. I have not once touched it since (in 10 years as I remember) having always thought that its present line must be changed, but that the change could not be made until it was decided in the spring how much should be left or taken away of the long line of oak hedge which now really forms the strait boundary of which you complain. This is surely a longer explanation than was necessary between you & me, about a bit of an old hedge; but I was anxious to state the fact to you such as it is, or at least as I most confidently believe it to be. As to our drives, I have always, for a little less than 40 years, directed both our walks & drives, as far as depended on me, to the spot wherever it was, when any walks were carrying on for me, that I might have the benefit of your judgement upon them, & that they might equally afford to both of us occupation & amusement. But when we are together, where you may wish to go (if you will apprize me of it) then certainly our horses heads will be directed. If you drive with me today my own wish certainly was to have gone to the octagon, that I might talk with you about an idea that I had of planting a few oaks of moderate size on the highest ground between that building & Cabrook wood, for this very purpose of getting a more varied outline there. But do not think of the carriage if it will be at all too cold for you

f. 253. Saturday [pencil Oct 1822, probably out of order]
Since I wrote my other letter I have received yours, and I have felt much pleasure from your account being on the whole more favourable than I had expected. I hope things will go on mending. I will attend to what you mentioned about the grape house. Abbott has found more dry rot than he expected in the old woodwork. I do not know whether this extends to the Hitcham sashes but I will enquire. I have bid him burn everything that has the least symptom of this evil.

Appendix 3: The Exasperations of Ownership

[The two manuscripts below are at the back of BL Add MS 69170. Neither is given a full date, without which firm conclusions about authorship cannot be drawn. Both Grenvilles were in the habit of making both drafts and copies. It may be that these drafts are by an exasperated Anne, the gardeners having got out of control during Grenvilles illness, but they are included as an appendix in this thesis, as examples of the kinds of conflict between owners and gardeners that can arise, without attribution to the writer or the intended recipient. They complement the accounts of dealing with employees in the correspondence between Grenville and Anne at Appendix 2. It would be difficult to suggest that the recipient of the first of these was Philip Frost [see Chapter 3 & 5] who was, by reputation, an exemplary Head Gardener. Several other members of the Frost family from Cornwall worked for the Grenvilles from time to time and this may have been directed at one of them. The second manuscript would seem to be unconnected with the row between Anne and Grenville to which he responded in BL Add MS BL Add MS 58873 f 251, since it she is unlikely to have written to him in such peremptory terms. It is however evidence of the 'skill and success' of the Grenvilles in refining the landscape over time.]

BL Add MS 69170, ff. 241-244

July 11 (no date)

Frost

You are aware that I have long thought much requires attention in the management of the garden, and you are so impatient & intemperate in your answers, if the slightest blame is attributed to you, however justly, that I prefer stating a few of the things I have to say in writing, that you may have time fully to consider them. I give you full credit for many excellent qualities, & have a sincere regard for you. But this does not blind me to many things I wish otherwise. You are not free from a habit which, however common, is at the root of almost all evil; & has painfully affected more than one of your family. It has hurt your temper, weakened your memory & greatly lessened your powers of observation. You came here a very young man, & from unfortunate circumstances have been left too much to yourself. You never acquired the habits of regular supervision of those under your control so necessary in your situation. You give an order, & totally forget to look whether it is executed or not. This is immediately perceived by your men & they pay no attention to your directions. The allotting labour judiciously forms a large part of the merit of a good gardener & in this you are greatly deficient, employing clumsy awkward labourers who ought never to set their foot in a flower garden in operations that require judgment & handiness. Always <u>crowding</u> them in together so as to be in each others way, & to remove the great check of the responsibility of each. Witness the abuse that is constantly going on at the back greenhouse – a scene of idleness and mischief under your own eye. Why is the glass all broken there? Plants left in the small house for months together to die? When the season comes for

removing plants out of the greenhouse I have always seen gardeners supervise the operation, sort the plants & direct & attend to the potting. Here it is no such thing, all is left to whatever man you happen to have, & two or three dawdle over it the whole summer, cutting down what ought to be tall (witness the oleanders for years) etc etc. The same thing in housing the plants. This requires the utmost judgment, and is always done under the gardener's eye. The same thing applies to propagating. For how many years for instance have I told you that I am very fond of the old heliotrope & wish to have both beds and large plants of it. Two years ago there was a beautiful bed of it in the Chinese Seat Walk which I particularly desired you to increase from. You neglected this but said you had told a drunken man in the melon to do it. And I am now wholly without it & and have only wretched little plants of the wrong sorts. Why kill that fine plant of stephanotis you knew I particularly valued? We are now without it. Limoderum tankervillia [the orchid *Phaius tancarvilleae*] a plant of most easy culture & valuable in the Winter etc etc. The stove is now full of absolute rubbish, whatever the garden men choose to grow for their amusement, whereas in so small a house nothing should be seen but the choicest plants. One year the garden man has a passion for Calceolarias & the heath house is full of them. Then come Cactus's. All the greenhouse lilies & Cape bulbs of which you had a fine collection are gone, of these you know I am particularly fond. A parcel of rubbishy orchids are beginning. You have put the whole system of foremen in the flower garden & melon ground upon a totally wrong footing. Their business is to assist you, not replace you. As you have it I have a new gardener every time these men are changed. You very improperly told me this summer it was Thomas Sarah's business to take charge of any plants I brought down, and that you knew nothing about them. It is your business to receive every plant that comes into the garden, & to know what is done with it. You are often dissatisfied with these men tho' they have always been entirely of your own choosing. And, no wonder, because you expect of them what you can never find. And as in this instance of Thomas Sarah (who you entirely disapproved of) you recommend him to another place as a good gardener! I know nothing of the man you have now taken, but his being the brother of a footman did not seem to be a good reason for taking him. You ought, as you formerly did always to consult me upon any change. The system is a bad one. We ought to have boys in the garden who would look to promotion & be ready to take the places when there was an opening. Instead of this the moment they are useful they go away, & we take strangers of whom you knew little or nothing who have often been drunken & ill conducted. I disapproved of your manner this morning about Herbert Gregory. I have had no conversation with the lad but from my experience of him I doubt whether you will get as good a one in the Melon Ground. He is well educated, steady and trustworthy & had you been willing to promote him I think it probable he would have been willing to stay. And the way you spoke to him was not that of a person interested in a lad who had been long under him, or anxious on my account to keep a good hand in the garden.

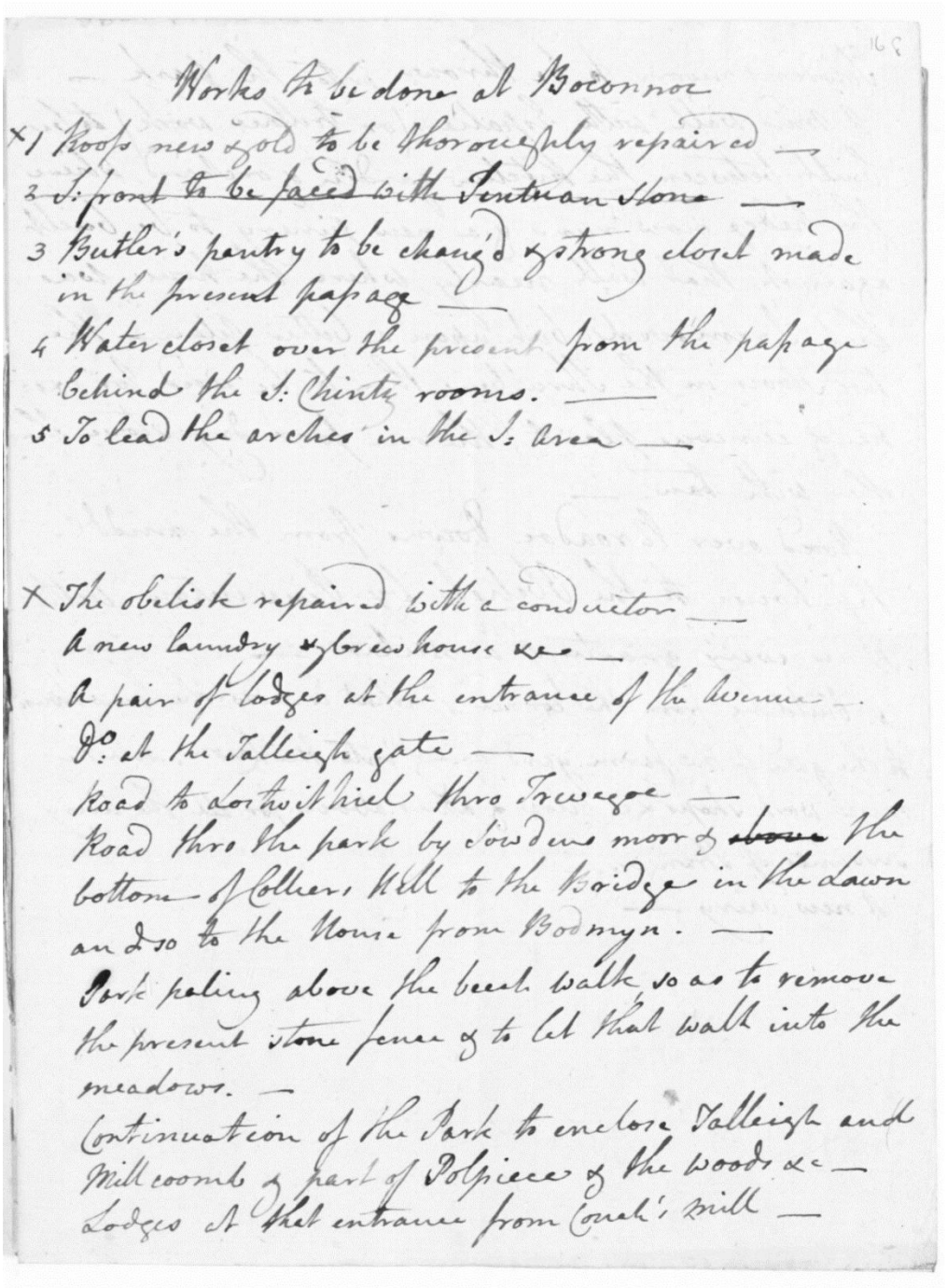
BL Add MS 60170, ff. 246-247

Monday

It was so grievous to me yesterday to see the destruction of what I had for so many years been nursing up with so much pains, and I may say skill, and success that I wish to spare myself the daily repetition of this mortification. Do not suppose that I am endeavouring to persuade you to desist from cutting what I think so ill. The mischief in my view is already quite irreparable and as you can find amusement in nothing but what you do yourself there is not a word to be said. But you can understand that after waiting so long for effects which time only can produce, and in the moment when by following up the same system, effects so striking would have been produced, to see all again reduced to one flat undistinguished mass by mere random work is no common mortification to one so fond of wood scenery where habits have been so long directed to that object and where enjoyments are now so much narrowed. All I wish is to avoid daily going up and down in front of the wood and being continually called upon to admire the downfall of my old favourites.

Appendix 4: The Boconnoc 'Minute Book', 'Draft Instructions' and 'Aide Memoire'

Camelford
BL Add MS 69176, f. 168-r&v, Draft Instructions



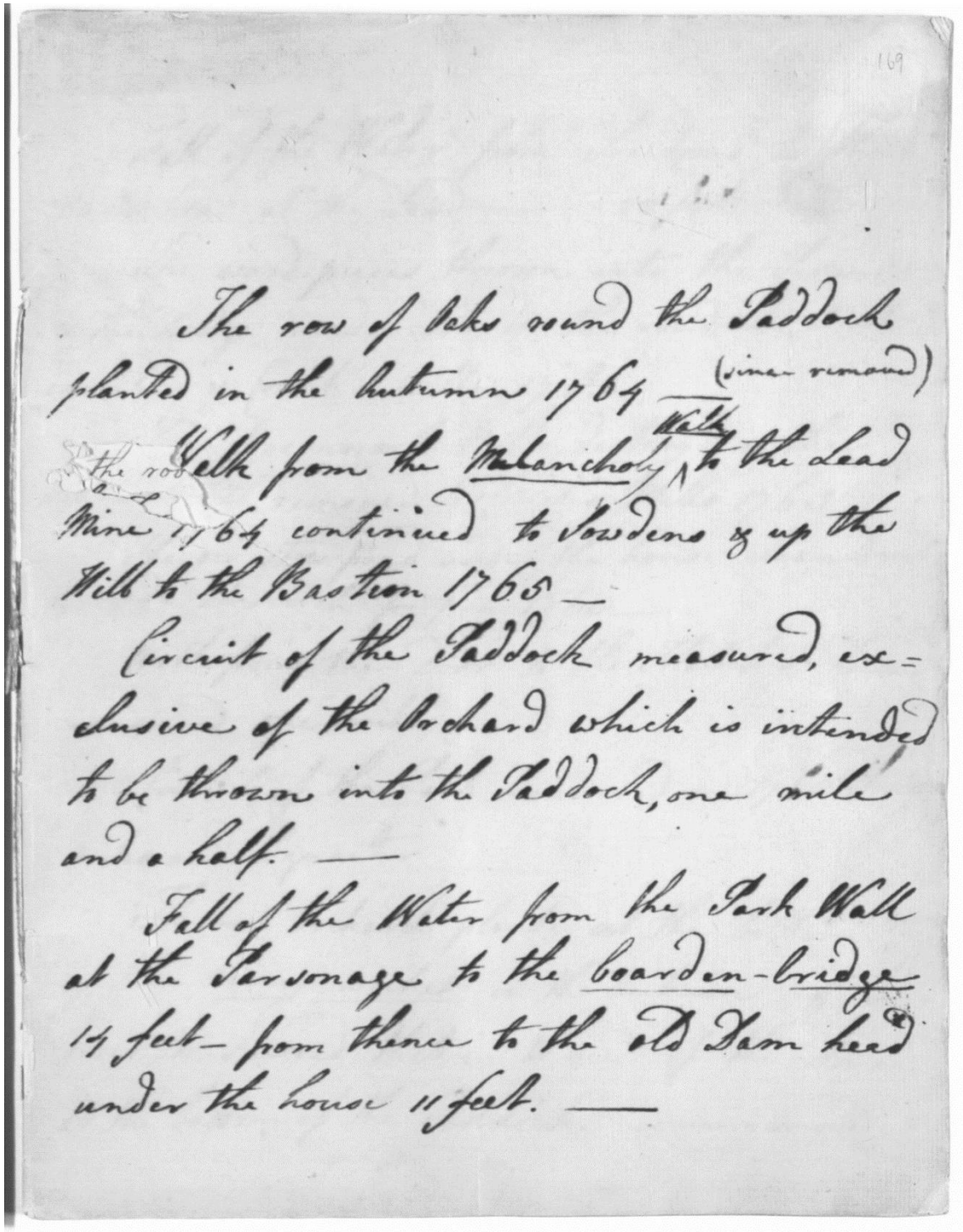
Works to be done at Boconnoc

×1 Roofs new & old to be thoroughly repaired —
2 S. front to be faced with Pentuan Stone —
3 Butler's pantry to be chang'd & strong closet made in the present passage —
4 Water closet over the present from the passage behind the S. Chintz rooms. —
5 To lead the arches in the S. Area —

× The obelisk repaired with a conductor —
A new laundry & brew house &c —
A pair of lodges at the entrance of the Avenue —
Do. at the Talleigh gate —
Road to Lorbwithiel thro Trewego —
Road thro the park by Lowdens moor & ~~house~~ the bottom of Colliers Hill to the Bridge in the Lawn and so to the House from Bodmyn. —
Park paling above the beech walk so as to remove the present stone fence & to let that walk into the meadows. —
Continuation of the Park to enclose Talleigh and Millcoomb & part of Polpiece & the Woods &c —
Lodges at that entrance from Couch's mill —

Sowden's moors to be thrown into the park —
A mud wall with Espaliers (or trellace work) to be
built between the kitchen garden & orchard where
the hedge now runs & a new pinery to be built
against that wall nearly where the house was
that I removed but upon a better plan — the
two stoves in the Shrubbery then to be used for exo:
tic & curious plants, the one for a dry stove the
other with tan. —
Road over Broadoe Downs from the middle
Tap-house to the Uckfield by Penvinton with
stones every quarter of a mile. —
A building from the corner of what is now the brew house
to the gate of the farm yard going into the Lawn, with Re:
mises work shops &c below & attics above for all the livery
servants of Strangers. —
A new dairy —

BL Add MS 69176, ff. 169-175, The Minute Book



169

The row of Oaks round the Paddock planted in the Autumn 1764 (since removed)

the road Walk from the Melancholy Walk to the Lead Mine 1764 continued to Sowdens & up the Hill to the Bastion 1765 —

Circuit of the Paddock measured, exclusive of the Orchard which is intended to be thrown into the Paddock, one mile and a half. —

Fall of the Water from the Park Wall at the Parsonage to the boarden-bridge 14 feet — from thence to the old Dam head under the house 11 feet. —

Fall of the Water from Sowdens to the dam head at the Lead mine 20 feet.

The wood-piece thrown into the Penvose & the hedge made good to the road to Milk-coombe & Couch's Mills 1765

N. Boconnock Mills destroy'd & the Mann Mill removed to Couch's Mills 1765

The ore stew-pond under the house cleaned out & made staunch for fish 1765

Walk from the Door to the Thatch'd house measured one mile

Circuit of the Park measured in 1765 three miles and a quarter

The new Orchard planted at the bottom of the many-wicket in the Autumn 64 in order to succeed that in view of the House at the bottom of the Paddock. (since removed)

Intended to remove the present fruit garden which stands in the Orchard under the House, into the old Nursery by the Church, concealing it by Shrubs & Fir-trees from the Avenue.

Intended to remove the Brew-house Laundry and Dairy now under the Study windows, into [illegible] near the Stables. — and to extend the Ter[illegible] quite round the House from the Front to the back yard. —

The Brew-house & Dairy removed & offices compleated in the Court round the Stables & the Terrace and Arches towards the south Front built in the latter end of the year 1767 —

Bridge built over the River S.E. South in front of the House 1768 and the new road from the West compleated 1769.

Park pale set up the other side the moor where the old Mill-Leat ran 1768 with intention that the meadows should be cleaned & beautified the river widen'd &

improved, and that by degrees when the fruit Garden & Orchard shall have been removed, the Paddock in the Front of the house may be continued round so as to unite with the Park; all which is with a view to the building a new Front to the South.

Proposed Alterations in the House upon the above mentioned Idea — to contrive a Staircase in the room on the left hand of the Vestibule, which communicating on the right to the Corridor of the Attics shall lead in front to an Antichamber, which opens on the left into a Gallery 60 feet long to the South with the present Library at one end & a Dreping-room at the other; a Bedchamber, Cabinet or private Study, Garderobe, back stairs & the Antichamber you first of all enter forming the north front towards the Parterre. This wing is intended for the Family Apartment.

Proposed to remove the present Kitchen Garden & Nursery from the bottom of the Orchard by the River side to a piece of ground in the Lawnas on the left hand [illegible]

the Prowda Park on the left hand as you enter the Gate from the Avenue.

The riding-house begun & finished 1770

Measured from the Back door of the house thro the flower garden, the great Beeches by the Parsonage, over the boarden-bridge, by the Lead-mine along the Park walk by the Bastion & thro the melancholy walk home

M. F. P. G.
2 : 1 : 26 . 1.

Walk thro the Alder-walk the Dawna-wood & back by the young beech-walk & boarden-bridge

M. F. P. G.
2 : 2 : 32 : 1/4

Walk from the fore-Door thro the Shrubbery Brownshill wood Thatch'd-house & back over the wooden-bridge Alder-walk &c

M. F. P.
2 : 3 : 35 :

The Shrubbery opposite the Church-yard alter'd and new planted in Serpentine walks with evergreens and sweets December 1771

South wall 600 feet & east & west wall 150 feet of brick in the new kitchen garden in Prowda-park finished & planted with trees from London Nov: 1771

Orchard taken away and old kitchen garden garden in view of the South front of the house destroy'd. 1771

Obelisk of moor stone to the memory of Sr Richard Lyttelton begun & the Pedestal completed 1771 the Shaft to be finished by contract next Mich.s 1772—

The intended addition to the House containing Gallery drawing room & family apartment over the offices begun 1772 and finished 1774 the Estimate above £5000

Plantations in the rough ground by the West park gate begun in 1773 and completed

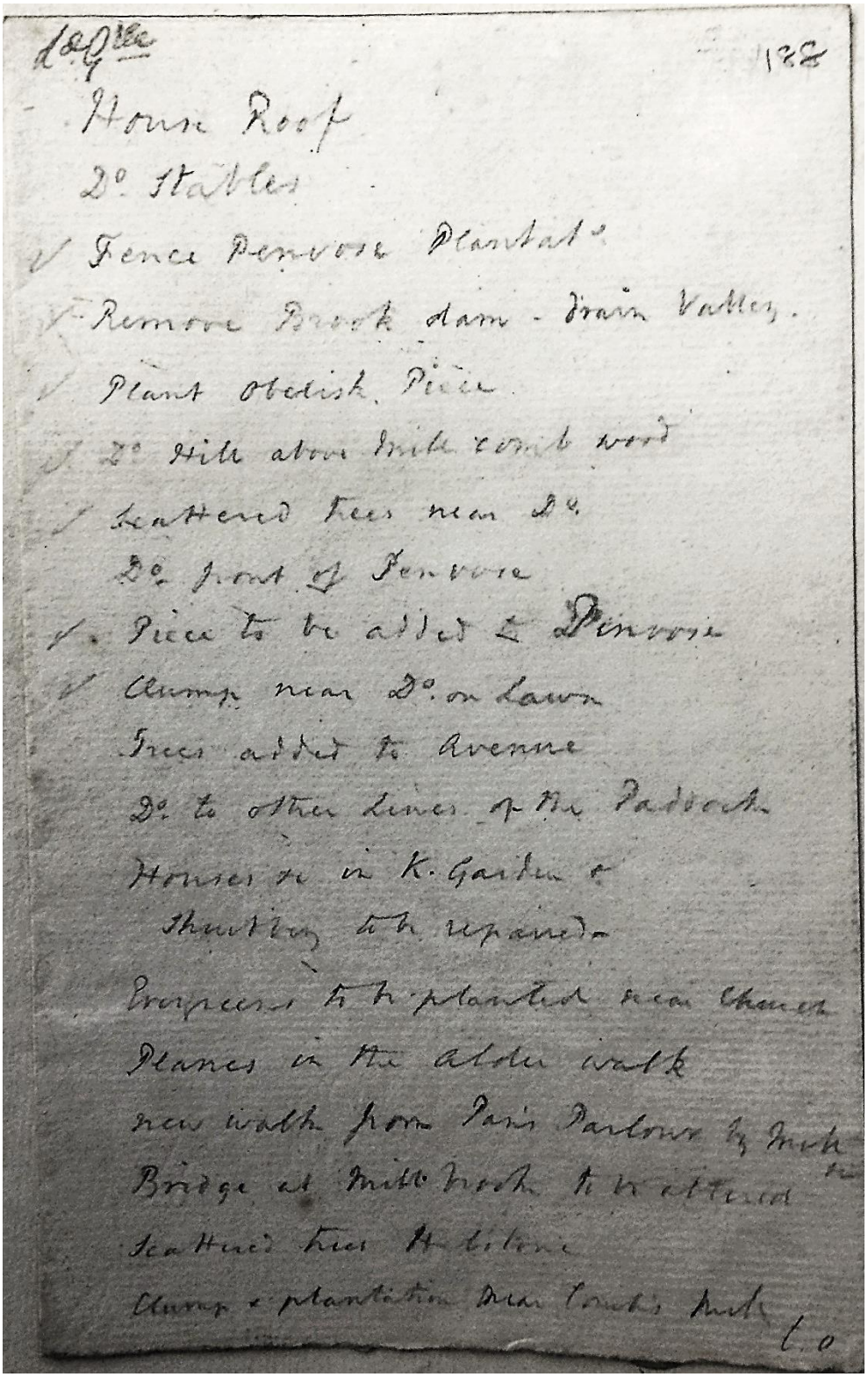
Plantation from West park gate to Buck's head 1770

Road turned from Brookes's to Trewega crop. 1795 and the Lawn before the House extended to the plantations in Penvose which were made in 1770

Welstone and Talleigh, together with Penvose Wood, Mill coombe Wood, Wernes Wood &c throwen into the Park which extends almost to Coulds mill to the South, to Penvose to the East, to the Lawn towards the North, & to the road towards the West in all

Grenville

BL Add MS 69176, f. 188, The Aide-Memoire



Lodge

188

House Roof

Do. Stables

Fence Penrose Plantat.

Remove Brook dam - drain Valley.

Plant obelisk Piece

Do Hill above little wood

Scattered Trees near Do.

Do. front of Penrose

Piece to be added to Penrose

Clump near Do. on Lawn

Trees added to Avenue

Do. to other Lines of the Paddock

Houses &c in K. Garden &

Shutting to be repaired -

Evergreens to be planted near Chaise

Planes in the Abbey walk

new walk from Park Parlour to Brick

Bridge at little Brook to be altered &

Scattered Trees to be taken

Clump & plantation near Lords Park

to

BL Add MS 69176, ff. 189-191, Draft Instructions

(These copied into typescript for the sake of clarity)

Lord Grenville Sept 1804 Boconnoc

Works to be done by the Gardener this year.

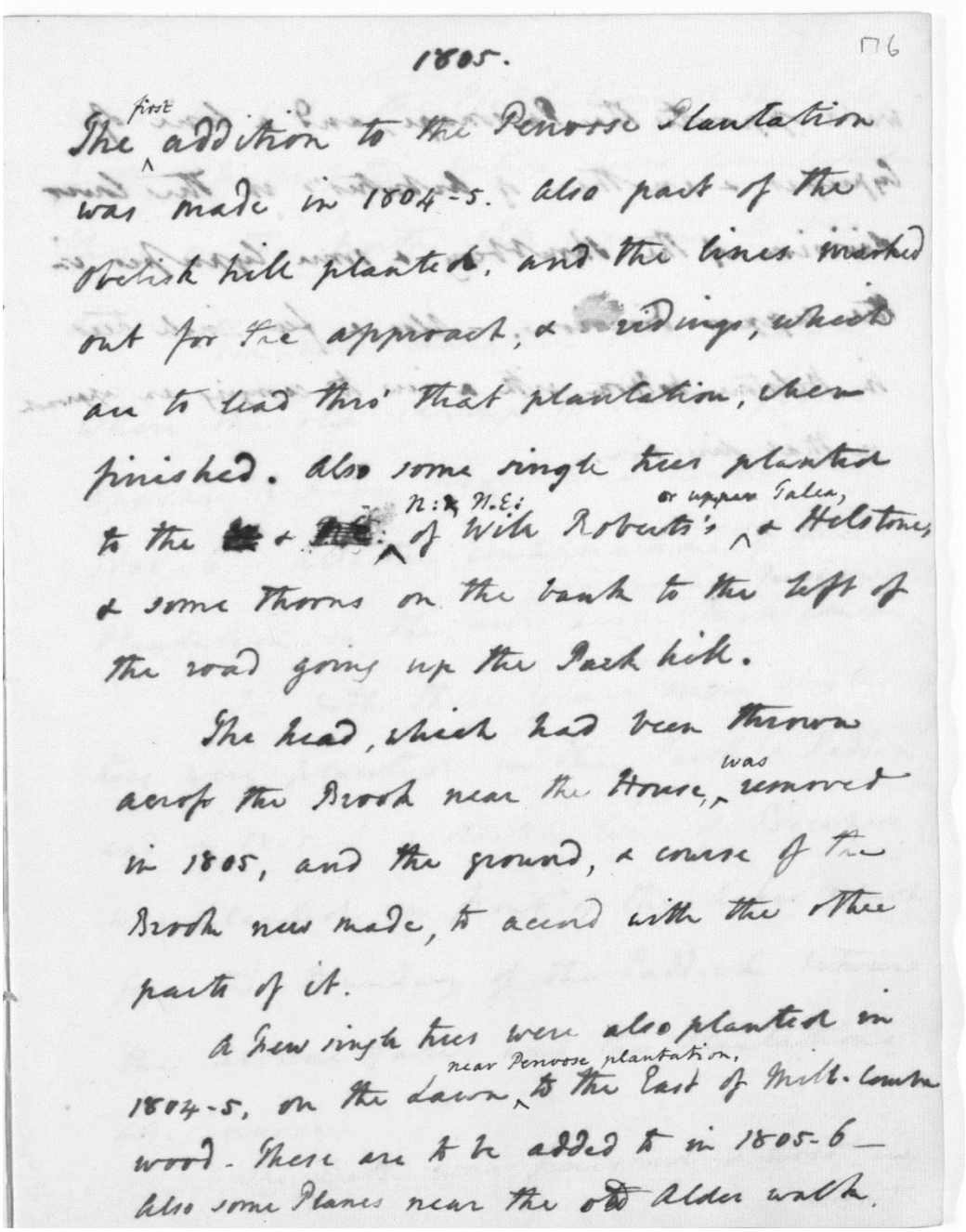
1. Dam head to be taken away at the Bridge & the ground replaced to its natural level, & the Valley to be drained. This is to be done under the Gardener's inspection by the men who have undertaken it.
2. The drains to be cleared in Sowden's Moor, the rushes stubbed up, and the ground dressed with salt or refuse fish.
3. The Obelisk hill to be planted, according to the plan marked out, with Scotsh Fir, Pinasters, Oak, Beech, Birch & Chestnut in about equal proportions & some Laurel & Holly intermixed, if these can be got, and a good many Mountain Ash.
4. The hill above Herne's wood to be prepared for being planted next season according to the lines marked out.
5. A rail fence to be carried in front of Penvose plantation at the distance marked by the stakes, and the space between that & the fence to be trenched with the spade and them planted chiefly with thorn and hazel but with some Beeches, Chestnuts and Oaks intermixed. Nothing is to be planted closer to the fence than [blank] feet.
6. About twenty Planes to be planted (as staked out) in the Alder Walk & the ground adjoining to it.
7. A plain arched bridge without a parapet to be thrown over the brook where the wooden bridge now is opposite the Parsonage – This is to be in all respect similar to the two arches now in the valley, & to be broad enough to let the little chaise pass over it.
8. A plantation to be fenced, trenched & planted, as marked out with stakes in the paddock near the east boundary, & opposite the end windows of the Library.
9. [omitted]
10. Ten or a dozen scattered Beeches to be planted on the east, and north east sides of Will Robart's – and as many near the Park Fence at the head of Helstone Bottom – these to be fenced with cradle fences.
11. A /large [inserted]/ nursery to be made of Scotch Fir , Pinaster, Beech, Birch, Oak & Chestnut, Holly, Laurel & Portugal Laurel, Mountain Ash, Thorn & Hazel, for going on with the plantations in subsequent years.
12. The Beech which interrupts the walk just by the gate at the bottom of Collier's Hill to be taken up carefully & planted in the line of Beeches which form the walk, & that piece of ground to be levelled so as to join the two parts of the walk to each other.
13. The Mulberry trees in the Shrubbery to be well manured & turfed round the turf not to come quite close to the Boles of the trees but to leave a space of about a foot round them for the water to penetrate. Some branches of the fig-tree near the stove to be trained into the House to ripen the fruit.
14. ~~The West Gate plantation to be thinned at the further end,~~ Some Beeches and Chestnuts to be planted in the inside of the two clumps of Scotch Firs /at the West

Park gate/ [inserted] where tree have been blown down so as to leave opening enough for the young trees to grown.

15. The large Beeches opposite the east end of the House to be taken down – all the dead trees throughout the place to be removed and carried away.
16. The fence of the fir plantation joining to that of the West Gate to be thoroughly repaired.
17. In the Spring paint will be sent down to paint all the gates about the place – previous to which they must all be put in perfect repair.
18. [Written as 17 the numbering repeated] The Corners between the Avenue & the east fence of the Paddock to be fenced, trenched and planted.
19. The evergreens in the Back Green to be layered.

This is, as was his general practice a draft, with an omission, mis-numbering, insertions, and deletions. It appears to have been derived from the rough note at 188.

BL Add MS 69176, ff. 176-187, The Minute Book



1805. 176

The first addition to the Penrose Plantation was made in 1804-5. also part of the obelisk hill planted, and the lines marked out for the approach, & ridings, which are to lead thro' that plantation, then finished. also some single trees planted to the [redacted] & [redacted] of N.E. & N. of Wm Roberts's or upper Gales, & Helstones, & some thorns on the bank to the left of the road going up the Park hill.

The head, which had been thrown across the Brook near the House, was removed in 1805, and the ground, a course of the Brook new made, to accord with the other parts of it.

A few single trees were also planted in 1804-5, on the Lawn near Penrose plantation, to the East of Mill. Coombe wood. There are to be added to in 1805-6— also some Planes near the old Alder walk.

walk opposite the Parsonage, and a basin of Cypresses, & another of Arbutus's, in the lower division of the Shrubbery, & some Cypresses in the upper division. – Also a few single trees in Hedstone ~~to Home~~ with a view to carrying an approach in that direction.

In 1805-6, & 1806-7 the Plantations to the East, South, & West of the Obelisk were completed. Those on the North still remain to be done. The new Plantation on the Lawn where the old clump of Scotch firs appears to have stood, was made in 1805-6. Also the continuation of the Plantation on the Polpiney hill above Nick-combe, and opposite to Penrose wood.

In both these years some more single trees were planted in the Park & Paddock, and in 1805-6 a double line of Beeches was planted in front of the Ashes which form the Boundary of the Paddock between the avenue Gate, and the Plantations at Penrose.

The Bath was finished & used in august

August 1807.

* The act of Parliament for confirming this exchange passed in the Spring 1808.

In the Autumn of 1807 the agreement was concluded, and the Bishop's consent obtained, for exchanging Boconnoc Glebe & Parsonage for the Estate of Dodargies adjoining to Bradock Glebe. The new Parsonage to be built next Year near Bradoc Church.*

In December the road which went from the Obelisk ground towards Dawna, between the Rookery and the Boconnoc Parsonage was turned by order of two Justices

The second addition to the Penvose Plantation, and about ½ an Acre of new Plantation on the Lawn, adjoining the Avenue on the South side, were planted this Year, & finished in December.

Several Ash & Plane trees were also planted out on the Lawn near this plantation. The Ashes were moved from the Ash Nursery between

between the Beech Walk & the Parsnage, and 179
were of the same age & size with those which
are left there to remain. This I note in order
that their growth may hereafter be compared,
& that it may be observed how much they have
suffered by the removal. They had stood in that
nursery about 15. years, by the account of the
Gardener who planted them. They were part of
a parcel of which the remainder was planted
at the same time in Bodinnick Wood in Mr
Stephen's.

In the Winter & Spring 1807–8 the
lower part of Herne's hill where it joins
Herne's wood, and a small part ~~of~~ to
the right of the Gate going from the Park into the
Riding on that hill were planted – The whole of
the intended plantation on Herne's
hill

* In November 1808 when this ground was
holed for the purpose of ~~it~~being planted,
a considerable proportion of these acorns
had grown, & in making the holes care was
taken not to disturb these young oaks.

hill was fenced off from the Park, and that part which is to the North of the new riding tho' it was sown with wheat, and * acorns dibbled in after the wheat was sown.

The ~~two~~ upper parts of the fields at Polpiece which are to be taken into the Park was trenched and planted.

In the course of this year the old Parsonage was put into complete repair for the habitation of the Steward of the Estate. The old Offices there were pulled down and rebuilt.

The Fences between the Rookery and the old Glebe were destroyed, & a grove of Elms which stood to the South of the Rookery, (between that & the old road turned last year) but which were not in a thriving state, was taken down in order to lay the place together.

The new Stone bridge was built at the end of the Alder walk, leading

leading from thence into Browns-hill wood.

The new lodge was built at Couch's mill, preparatory to throwing that Piece of ground, and the fields above (taken from Polpiece farm) into the Park.

The new road from the Obelisk ground, thro' the Paddock, & the House was marked, & partly dug out.

The new Shrubbery, which is to lead thro' the old Shrubbery & Flower-Garden to the edge of Browns-hill wood, & so to the great Beech above the old Parsonage was begun in November 1808, & the three first clumps planted with Evergreens.

The Border before the Bank of

of Evergreens immediately under the Church (by the road coming up to the House) was widened, and a row of Arbutus & Bay planted there Nov. 11. 1808.

The boarded room was put up this Autumn at Lantick Bay, and a Cottage room built behind it for the residence of a Labourer.

Mem. This autumn the small triangular plantation of Oak, Chesnut, & Fir, at the South East Angle of the Paddock, (between the Penrose plantation & the East boundary of the Paddock,) was thinned & pruned. By the growth of the Firs which were cut out it was ascertained that this plantation was made in 1800.

Aug. 1817.

In the interval between this date & that of the last minute the principal work done here has been that of the Inclosure, & the Trees which surrounded the place, which with the Roads necessary to be made in consequence has been a very large Expence.

Besides this, a considerable addition has been made to the Plantations

1. By bringing forward the Plantation at the West Park Gate with the two sides which now form the entrance to the Park from the old side this' that Plantation.

2. By an addition on the So. & So. West, side of Polpiece plantation.

3. By an addition to the Westpark Gate Plantation, bringing it forward on the hill immediately above Fowden, & opposite the Rough Park plantation.

4. By many more single trees planted

planted out 6th in the Park & Paddock 185
These two last hitches were ordered in the Autumn of 1814.

5. By a small plantation at Kenmore being the first beginning of the intended plantations in that approach to the place for Lochard.

6. By a field of 3 acres planted at Clonroe. a small triangular piece taken off for that purpose from an new field not far from it. These were ordered & planted in the spring winter of 1813-14. When we came down here in Aug. 1817 we have now found the square road finished round the Obelisk, & from thence close to the House door. It remains to be completed from the Obelisk to Kenmore, (where a small length is done thro' the newer planted piece) and from thence again to the turnpike road near the Gap House.

In this interval a new road has also been made, up Kilstone Hill from, into the Southernmost of the three entrances of the Westpark gate riding.

During the same period the

farm

farm buildings at Dawna have been undertaken & completed.

also a Lodge built at Couch's Mill, & the adjoining House for the Smith.

Measured Oct 11. 1817 some of the Beeches & Oaks in the Grove between the House & the Stewardry.

The largest of the Beeches measured at 4 feet from the ground F. In. 11. 9

The next largest is that at the Angle of the Walk from the House & of the lower road, that leading to the Bridge under the House. It measured at the same height F. In. 11. 4.

That at the Angle between the Walk & the upper road leading up to the Gimtow Yard &c, measured at the same height F. In. 10. 1

The others that were measured were at the same height,

F.	In.
10.	6.
10.	5
9.	10
9.	8
& 9.	4

The largest Oak was at the same height F. In. 8. 7.

one

one there was 8. 4., & the two Porter Bars,
(the two strait sticks on each side of the Walk) 187
were, that on the upper side the Walk 7. 10
& the other - - - - - - - - - - 7. 4.
As the ground slopes very much the measure
of height (viz. 4 ft.) was taken about the middle
of the two halfways down, from the highest side to
the lowest.

Appendix 5: *The Gardener's Magazine*

1828, Vol. III, I, 257-269, Dropmore, Baillie and Loudon

THE

GARDENER'S MAGAZINE,

JANUARY, 1828.

PART I.

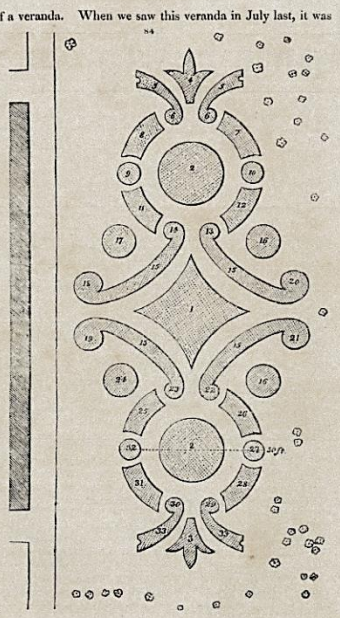
ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ART. I. *Some Account of the Flower-gardens and the Pinetum at Dropmore, the Seat of Lord Grenville.* By Mr. WILLIAM BAILLIE, Gardener at Dropmore. *Interspersed with general Remarks on the Gardens and Grounds there, by the* CONDUCTOR.

DROPMORE has been long celebrated for its pinetum, or collection of plants of the pine and fir tribe, and for the taste displayed in the flower-garden. Some account of the former, which contains upwards of fifty species of pines, will open to view an extensive field for the improvement of evergreen forest scenery; and the lists of flowers, and the mode of displaying them in the parterre and Dutch garden, will afford useful instruction to every class of gardeners and amateurs; instruction the more valuable, because, in so simple a matter as planting flower-beds, very few think it worth while to proceed systematically. The grand lesson to be learned from the flower scenery at Dropmore is the advantage of placing beauty in masses.

As a situation for a country residence, Dropmore exhibits no very striking natural feature. The house is pleasingly and picturesquely situated among woody scenery and fine turf; and the views from the lawn command a very rich and grand distance, including Windsor Castle and Windsor Forest. It is simple, spacious, and elegant, with a judiciously contrived conservatory in front, the glass of which is removed during summer, leaving the roof supported on piers of trelliswork, the structure assuming at that period of the year the character

of a veranda. When we saw this veranda in July last, it was



beautifully clothed with flowering creepers, magnolias, and geraniums; and, altogether, the disposition of plants about and against the garden front of the house equalled our expectations, while the symmetrical disposition of assemblages of flowers on the lawn surpassed them. The effect of considerable masses, entirely composed of Geránium, of Célsia, of Heliotrópium, of Fúchsia, of Salvia coccínea, and of various other free-growing green-house plants, is striking from its novelty and rarity, and well worthy of imitation. We have seen no place where this description of flower-gardening is carried to such an extent as it is at Dropmore.

The masses of flowers in front of the house form a regular figure (*fig.* 84.), and the plants are so disposed that, when in flower, the corresponding forms of the figure contain corresponding coloured flowers. The following is a list of the plants which now occupy this figure, with the order in which they are disposed, and a corresponding enumeration of the bulbs and other plants which occupy the beds during winter and spring:

Beds.	*In Summer.*	*In Winter and Spring.*
1.	*Rósa indica* (blush), bordered with *R. semperflórens* flóre plèno, and *R. indica minor.*	*Anemóne coronária.*
2, 2.	Pelargónium inquinans (scarlet geranium).	*Malcómia maritima* (Virginian stock).
3.	*Verbéna Lambértii.*	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna common (hardy varieties).
4.	*Senécio élegans* flóre plèno (double jacobæa).	
5, 5.	*Célsia articifólia.*	*Delphínium Ajácis* (rocket larkspur), sown in autumn.
6, 6.	*Cinerària amelloides.*	*Crócus mæsiacus.*
7.	*Fúchsia coccínea*, bordered with Primula vulgáris var. flóre plèno-cárnea.	*Scílla nonscripta* (blue harebells).
8.	*Heliotrópium peruviánum.*	*Muscári comósum* var. *monstrósum.*
9.	*Ruéllia formósa.*	*Tulipa suavéolens.*
10.	*Agerátum mexicàna.*	
11.	*Diánthus chinénsis* (Indian pink) and *Reséda odoràta* (mignonette).	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna var. flóre plèno (double sorts).
12.	*Lobélia splèndens.*	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna (single sorts).
13.	*Diánthus latifólius.*	*Ixia crocàta*, and *Ixia fenestrális*, kept in frames in midwinter.
14.	*Lobélia umbeniàta.*	
15, 15, 15, 15.	Choice herbaceous plants, not exceeding 1 ft. 6 in. in height.	
16, 16.	*Gladíolus cardinális.*	*Hyacínthus orientális* (double blue variety), plunged in pots.
17.	Pelargónium latéripes (pink-flowered variegated ivy-leaved geranium).	*Hyacínthus orientális* (double red variety), plunged in pots.
18.	*Anagállis grandiflóra.*	*Hyacínthus orientális* (single blue variety).
19.	*Anagállis Monélli.*	

Beds.	*In Summer.*	*In Winter and Spring.*
20.	Pelargónium coriósum.	*Hyacínthus orientális* (single white variety).
21.	Pelargónium, sp. ? (Prince of Orange geranium).	
22.	*Œnothéra cæspitósa.*	*Crócus vérnus* and *bidórus.*
23.	*Œnothéra missouriénsis.*	
24.	Pelargónium zonale (scarlet-flowered variegated-leaved var.)	*Hyacínthus orientális* (double red variety).
25.	*Málope trifida.*	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna (double yellow variety).
26.	*Lobélia fúlgens.*	
27.	*Petúnia odoràta.*	*Hyacínthus orientális* (double white variety).
28.	*Commelina cœléstis.*	*Muscári botryoides* (grape hyacinth).
29.	*Cistus guttátus.*	*Oxalis caprína*, kept in frames in midwinter.
30.	*Campánula pentagóna.*	*Scílla vérna.*
31.	*Rósa damascèna* (four seasons rose) and *Reséda odoràta* (mignonette.)	*Muscári racemósa*, the border of *Viola tricolor* in varieties.
32.	*Bouvárdia triphýlla.*	*Hyacínthus orientális* (double white variety).
33.	*Tropæ'olum május* flóre plèno (double nasturtium).	*Delphínium Ajácis* (double rose larkspur).

As a general principle for regulating the plants in this figure, Mr. Baillie observes that the winter and spring flowers ought, as much as possible, to be of sorts which admit of being left in the ground all the year; and the summer crop should be planted in the intervals between the winter plants. Or the summer crop having been brought forward in pots under glass, or by nightly protection, may be planted out about the middle of June, after the winter plants in pots are removed. A number of hardy bulbs ought to be potted and plunged in the beds in the months of October and November, and when out of bloom, in May or June, removed to the reserve-garden, and plunged there, in order to perfect their foliage, and mature their bulbs for the succeeding season.

In some parts of the grounds the masses are thrown about the surface, without regard to regularity or combination of figures, and, occasionally, as it struck us at the moment, in a manner which was rather injurious to what a painter would call breadth of effect. Sometimes a large mass of one colour has an eye in the centre of a different colour, and marginal borders of contrasted colours. In the open glades of lawn in the woody scenery, groups of flowers rise up among moss, others among roots, rocks, gravel, petrifactions, bark, or other materials. Fine single specimens of green-house plants appear here and there, plunged in pots. On observing the surface round the large geraniums in general closely covered with

smooth gravel stones, about the size of hens' eggs, we were informed that the stems of geraniums are very apt to rot after continued moist weather, and that these stones are found to counteract this tendency; probably by maintaining a drier surface, and causing greater reflection of heat during moments of sunshine.

The Dutch Flower-garden consists of sixteen beds, each 14 ft. in length, and 6 ft. in width (*fig.* 85.); and the following

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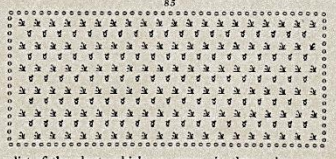

is a list of the plants which are grown in them, the arrangement varying every year, so that the same plants may not be two years in succession on the same bed: —

In Summer (*fig.* 85. ☼).	*In Winter and Spring* (*fig.* 85. ❄).
1. Œnothèra missouriénsis.	*Narcissus poéticus.*
2. Lobèlia fulgens.	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna (select varieties).
3. Anemòne hortènsis (double).	*Anemone hortènsis*, in autumn *Lobèlia decúmbens.*
4. Ruéllia formòsa.	*Gladiolus byzantinus.*
5. Commelina cœléstis.	*Narcissus floribúndus.*
6. Fúchsia coccínea.	*Erythrònium dens cánis.*
7. Verbèna Lambérti.	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna (garrot and double yellow varieties).
8. Pelargònium zonàle (pink nosegay variety).	*Narcissus jonquilla.*
9. Heliotròpium peruviànum.	*Hyacinthus orientàlis*, double varieties in all colours.
10. Gladiolus cardinàlis.	*Sanguinària canadénsis*, plunged.
11. Tigrídia Pavònia.	All the year.
12. Mathíola ánnua (scarlet ten-week stock).	*Anemone* coronària (double).
13. Pelargònium Fothergílli (scarlet nosegay geranium).	*Narcissus calathinus.*
14. Sálvia coccínea.	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna (var. double red, or pæonia-flowered variety).
15. Fúchsia grácilis.	*Scilla vérna.*
16. Diánthus Caryophýllus (double carnations).	All the year.
17. Pelargònium latéripes (pink variegated ivy-leaved geranium).	*Gladiolus communis.*

In Summer.	*In Winter and Spring.*
18. Coreópsis tinctòria.	*Delphinium Ajàcis* (double rocket larkspar).
19. Pelargònium Daveyànum.	*Tulipa* Gesneriàna (early clarimond variety).
20. Célsia urticifòlia.	Eránthis hyemàlis (winter aconite).

A bed (*fig.* 85.) of the dimensions given by Mr. Baillie will contain six rows of any one of the summer plants enumerated; five rows between them of any of the winter and spring bulbs mentioned; and a surrounding border of *Crócus*, Trichonèma, Bulbocódium, Scilla, *Saxífraga* granulàta, and similar plants, 3 in. from the edge of the bed, and the same distance apart from each other. The summer plants (☼ in *fig.* 85.) are readily inserted in the centre of the squares formed by the winter plants (❄ in *fig.* 85.), without the least risk of injuring the latter; and, when finished, the summer plants will be 1 ft. apart from the summer plants, the winter plants 1 ft. apart from the winter plants, and all the plants of one season 6 in. distant from the plants of the other season.

After disposing of flowers and plants in immense quantities, and in almost innumerable forms on a flat surface, an active mind like that of Lady Grenville, enthusiastically fond of gardening pursuits, cannot avoid pushing the taste farther. The direction given to this extreme of art here, is that of raising the plants in the air in grotesque vessels of a great variety of shapes (*fig.* 86.); of surrounding them with varied basket-

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work; or of training them on elevated forms of wire, and trellis-work. It is worthy of remark and of imitation, and indeed it forms a characteristic of the artificial ornaments of Dropmore, that they are not so much made up of costly materials, as by the application of skill and taste, and the labour of local workmen, to articles of little intrinsic value. Fantastic roots and boughs of trees, with rods of hazel or other clean growths, bark, moss, and such old boxes, barrels, tubs, or jars, as may be at hand, and would otherwise be burned or thrown away, are the

materials which are metamorphosed into forms remarkable for their singularity (*fig.* 87.), or engaging for their allusion to shapes of established beauty. For example, a tripod for geraniums consists of an old cask, which had contained Roman cement; and an old Italian jar, such as is sent from the oil-shops with grapes or Genoese pickles, forms the basis of an elegant vase, which may be supported on a pedestal consisting of an old tea-chest disguised by pieces of bark. In this way, by the tasteful application of a little labour, and with materials worth almost nothing, are produced pleasing and varied objects and effects.

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There is no greater evidence of attachment to a situation and a pursuit, than to be always doing and contriving something. Various plans of improvement are in progress at Dropmore, some of which relate to the more confined and artificial beauties near the house, and others to the pinetum, to a winding avenue of cedars, and to an extensive piece of ground laying out with water and rough banks, in imitation of wild scenery. As far as we observed and learned, the formation of this water and the wild scenery are in a style which would give satisfaction to Mr. Price. Rough picturesque surfaces, exotic plants and shrubs, and the common productions of wild situations, as heath, broom, furze, ferns, and digitàlis, are happily combined.

In the conservatory there is an abundant crop of Passiflòra edúlis (*Gard. Mag.*, vol. ii. p. 232. *fig.* 63.); and against a lofty wall are some plants of Magnòlia grandiflòra, which must be amongst the tallest and oldest in England. Near this wall are some of the finest specimens of the Stuártia, Malachodéndron, and Virginica we have ever seen. They were magnificently in flower. There is a handsome range of aviaries, one of which contains a number of canary finches (Fringilla canària), to some of which Mr. Baillie intends giving their liberty, with a view to naturalising them in the woods, agreeably, as he mentioned, to the suggestions of Rusticus in Urbe. (*Gard. Mag.*, vol. ii. p. 480.)

The Pinetum at Dropmore occupies perhaps about four or five acres in the space more immediately allotted to that object; but its boundaries are of an irregular form, and much broken; and in all the surrounding scenery various specimens

of this interesting tribe are introduced. The collection was first commenced with some plants, raised from seeds received from New York about the year 1795 or 1796. Additions have ever since been continually making to it. The ground was naturally productive of heath and furze. Between two plantations composed chiefly of the common species of pines and firs, the collection is scattered over a surface of smooth turf, through which passes a winding gravel walk. Some of the trees, though young, have already taken very picturesque shapes.

There is a very good plant of *Araucària* imbricàta, and two of Cunninghàmia lanceolàta; one of the latter raised from a cutting, which, left to itself, has sent up from the collar several stems contending which shall take the lead; the other has a fine leading shoot. These plants are protected during winter by temporary coverings of mats and fern, which are opened to the south in fine days, and closed in severe weather. From observations carefully made during the last winter, it was found that these huts, or cases, had entirely excluded the frost, even when most severe.

Besides the species in the pinetum at Dropmore, Mr. Baillie states that there are a few specimens which have been raised from seeds, or otherwise obtained, but whose characters are not yet judged sufficiently distinct to assign to them their proper place in the catalogue. *Pinus Pinea* appears at present to be the produce of some seeds from Chile *, and *Pinus Pinaster* †, or marítima, of some from the interior of New South Wales.

Of the species in the following list, Nos. 14. 19, 20, 21, 22. and 50. appear to suffer from the frost of our English winters, but have hitherto been preserved by the shelter of coverings formed nearly in the shape of bee-hives, and consisting of bent rods or poles of hazel or ash, over which are stretched two thicknesses of garden mats, including between them a wall and roof of dry fern, of about 6 or 8 inches in thickness. Some fern is also strewed over the roots in severe weather. This experiment is now about to be tried with Nos. 28, 29. 44. and 51. No. 48., *A.* imbricàta, is believed to be quite hardy, but has not yet been exposed here to the frost without protection. Nos. 49. and 52. are supposed to require being housed in the winter. The others have been found, or are known, to be hardy.

* The *Pinus Pinea* was introduced to Chile by the Spaniards.

† Some trees of the *Pinus Pinaster* have been introduced to the vicinity of Sydney, New South Wales, and from these trees there is little doubt that the seeds were gathered from which the above was raised.

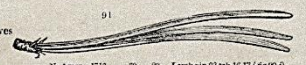
List of the Species of *Pinus*, *Abies*, *Cedrus*, *Larix*, *Araucaria*, Cunninghamia, and *Dammara*, composing the Pinetum at Dropmore.

§ 1. *Foliis geminātis.* Leaves in pairs. (*fig.* 88.)

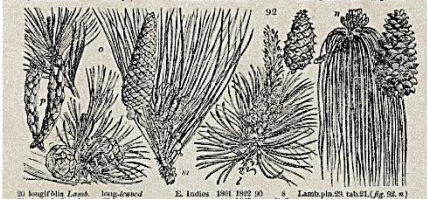
Systematic Name.	English Name.	Native Country	Year of introduct. to England.	Year of introduct. to Dropmore.	Height in the Country in Feet.	Height of tallest spec. at Dropmore.	Reference to published Figures.
PINUS	PINE TREE						
1 sylvéstris *L.*	wild, or *Scotch*	Scotland	...	...	30to100	30	Lamb.pin.1. tab.1. (*fig.* 89. *a*)
2 pumila *Jacq.*	dwarf *mild*	Carniola	1779	...	6	10	Lamb.pin.5. tab.2.
pumilio var. rubéscens	dwarf *mild* red-{ flowered	.....	...	...	...	13	
3 Laricio *Poiret*	Larinio, or *Corsican*	Corsica	1814	1825	80	3	
4 uncinata *Desc.*	hooked	Pyrenees	...	1824	50	5	

5 Pináster *L.*	Pinaster, or *Cluster*	S. Europe	1596	1824	60	32	Lamb.pin.9. tab.4, 5. (*fig.* 89. *b*)
6 maritima *Mill.*	maritime	S. Europe	1759	1807	40	12	Lamb.pin.15. tab.9,10. (*fig.* 89. *c*)
7 Pallasiana Lamb.	Pallas's	Russia	...	1821	30to60	12	
8 Pinea *L.*	Pinea, or *Stone*	S. Europe	1548	...	80	18	Lamb.pin.11. tab.6,7,8. (*fig.* 90. *d*)
9 resinosa *Ait. Kew.*	resinous	N. Amer.	1756	1824	50	9	Lamb.pin.20. tab.14. (*fig.* 90. *e*)
10 pungens Lamb.	prickly-*leaved*	N. Amer.	1804	...	60	20	Mich.arb.i. p.61. tab.5.
11 Banksiana Lamb.	*Sir Joseph* Banks's	Huds. Bay	1785	...	12	24	Lamb.pin.7. tab.3. (*fig.* 89. *f*)
12 inops *Hort. Kew.*	poor	N. Amer.	1777	...	40	27	Lamb.pin.18. tab.13. (*fig.* 90. *g*)
13 halepénsis *Mill.*	Aleppo	Levant	1683	...	30to50	9	Lamb.pin.15. tab.11. (*fig.* 90. *h*)
14 Massoniana Lamb.	Masson's	.....	1814	...	...	4	

§ 2. *Foliis ternis.* Leaves in threes. (*fig.* 91.)



15 tæda *L.*	torch	N. Amer.	1713	...	30	29	Lamb.pin.23.tab.16,17.(*fig.*90.*i*)
16 variábilis *Lamb.*	variable	N. Amer.	1759	1801	60	8	Lamb.pin.22. tab.15. (*fig.* 90. *k*)
17 serótina *Mich.*	late	N. Amer.	1713	1801	60	7	Mich.arb. i. p.86. tab.7.
18 rígida *Mill.*	stiff-*leaved*	N. Amer.	1759	...	80	25	Lamb.pin.25.tab.18,19.(*fig.*91.*l*)
19 palústris *Mill.*	swamp	N. Amer.	1730	1824	50	7	Lamb.pin.27. tab.20. (*fig.* 92. *m*)



20 longifólia *Lamb.*	long-*leaved*	E. Indies	1801	1822	90	8	Lamb.pin.29. tab.21.(*fig.* 92. *n*)
21 sinénsis *Lamb.*	Chinese	.....	...	1825	...	3to6	
22 canariénsis *C.Smith*	Canary	Canaries	1815	1822	40	8	Plant. rar. gen. c. ic.
23 lútea *Wall.*	yellow	.....	...	1831	...	10	

§ 3. *Foliis quínis.* Leaves in fives. (*fig.* 93.)

24 *Cembra* L.	Cembra	Siberia	1746	...	50to60	24	Lamb.pin.34.tab.25,34. (*fig.*92.*o*)
25 *Cembra* sibírica	Siberian Cembra	Siberia	...	1825	...	1	
26 pygmæ'a	pygmy	.....	...	1827	...	1	
27 *Strobus L.*	Strobus,or *Weymouth*	N. Amer.	1705	...	100to150	35	Lamb.pin.31. tab.22. (*fig.* 92. *p*)
28 excélsa *Wallich*	lofty, or *Bhotan*	Nepal	1823	1827	100	1	
29 occidentalis *Sauterſs*	western	.....	...	1826	70to80	4	

§ 4. *Foliis fasciculátis perennántibus.* Leaves in bundles, and persisting. (*fig.* 94.)

CE'DRUS	CEDAR TREE					
30 Lebáni *L.*	Lebanon	Levant	1683	1802	70to80	25	Lamb.pin.59. tab.37. (*fig.* 96. *q*)

§ 5. *Foliis fasciculátis decíduis.* Leaves in bundles, and deciduous. (*fig.* 95.)

LA'RIX	LARCH TREE						
31 europæ'a *Dec.*	European	Germany	1629	...	80to100	40	Lamb.pin.53. tab.35. (*fig.* 96. *r*)
32 microcárpa *Lamb.*	small-coned	N. Amer.	1760	1821	80	18	Lamb.pin.58. tab.37. (*fig.* 96. *s*)
33 pendula *Lamb.*	weeping	N. Amer.	1789	1824	70	5	Lamb.pin.56. tab.36. (*fig.* 96. *t*)

34 sibírica	Siberian	Siberia	1746	1824	80	1
35 dahúrica *Fisch.*	Daurian	Dauria	...	1827	...	8

* Schmidtia distícha *Bieb.* Cupressus distícha *L.*, Two-rowed Schubertia, or Deciduous Cypress; North America. 50 ft. high.
† Podocárpus salicífolia *Pers.*, Nut-leaving Podocarpus; Japan; 20 ft. high.
‡ Podocárpus macrophýlla, Long-leaved Podocarpus; China; 10 ft. high.
These three species are introduced to show the links which connect the fir tribe with other hardy Conifers.

§ 6. *Foliis angulátis, solitáriis, subulátis, pátentibus.* Leaves angular, solitary, awl-shaped, loose. (*fig.* 97.

ABIES	FIR TREE						
6 excélsa *Dec.*	lofty, or *Norway* Spruce	N. Europe	1548	...	100	35	Lamb.pin.37. tab.25. (*fig.* 99. *u*)
37 álba *Hort. Kew.*	white *Spruce*	N. Amer.	1700	...	80	35	Lamb.pin.39. tab.26. (*fig.* 99. *v*)
38 nigra *Hort. Kew.*	black *Spruce*	N. Amer.	1700	...	40	18	Lamb.pin.41. tab.27. (*fig.* 99. *w*)
39 rúbra *Lamb.*	red *Spruce*	N. Amer.	1755	...	50	5	Lamb.pin.42. tab.28. (*fig.* 99. *x*)
40 Clanbrassiliána H. K.	*Ld.* Clanbrassil's	.....	...	...	2 to 3	1to6	
41 carpática	Carpathian	.....	...	...	...	...	

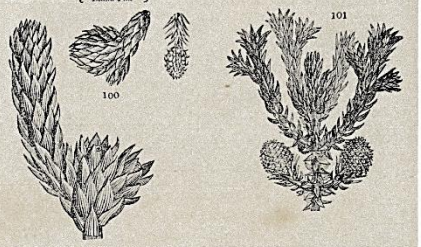
§ 7. *Foliis solitáriis, plánis, subdistíchis.* Leaves solitary, flat, nearly two-rowed. (*fig.* 98.)

42 canadénsis *H.Kew.*	Canadian	N. Amer.	1736	...	40to50	15	Lamb.pin.50. tab.32. (*fig.*99. *y*)
43 pectináta *Dec.*	comb-*leaved*, or *Silver*	Germany	1763	...	80	40	Lamb.pin.46. tab.30. (*fig.*99. *z*)

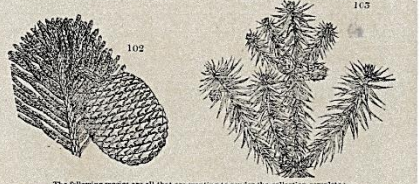
44 spectábilis *Lamb.*	showy	.....	...	1827	80to90	2	
45 balsámea *Mich.*	Balm of *Gilead*	N. Amer.	1696	...	50	14	Lamb.pin.48. tab.31. (*fig.* 99. *za*)
46 Fraséri *Pursh*	Fraser's	Pennsylv.	1811	...	30	2	
47 sibírica	Siberian	Siberia	...	1825	...	1	

§ 8. *Coniferæ miscellaneæ.*

ARAUCA'RIA	ARAUCARIA						
48 imbricáta *Pav.*	Intricated *Chile Pine*	Chile	1796	1824	150	4	Lamb.pin. vol.ii. tab.4. (*fig.* 100.)
49 braziliana *Lamb.*	Brazil *Pine*	.....	...	1825	100to150	2	Lamb.pin. vol.ii. tab.5. (*fig.*101.)
50 excélsa *Lamb.*	lofty, or *Norfolk Island Pine*	Norfolk I.	1793	1827	180	8	Lamb.pin. tab.39, 40. (*fig.* 102.)



CUNNINGHA'MIA	CUNNINGHAMIA						
51 sinénsis *Brown*	Chinese	.....	...	1823	15to20	10	(*fig.* 89. *d a*, and *fig.* 103.)
DA'MMARA	DAMMARA						
52 orientális *Lamb.*	eastern, or *Amboyna Pitch Tree*	.....	...	1825	100	1	Lamb. pin. vol. ii. tab. 38. (*fig.* 89. *bb*)



The following species are all that are wanting to render the collection complete:—

Pinus Lambertiána Dougl.; California; grows 215 feet high.
Abies taxifólia Lamb.; N.W. Coast of America.
Abies dumósa Lamb.; Nepal.
Abies religiósa *Kunth*; Mexico.
Abies hirtélla Kunth; Mexico.
Abies Thunbérgii Lamb.; Japan.
Abies orientális L.; Levant.
Larix Kæmpfe'ri Lamb.; Japan.
Cedrus Deodára Roxb.; Nepal and Thibet.
Dammara australis Lamb.; New Zealand.
There are several other undescribed pines and firs, known partly from dried specimens, and partly from the reports of travellers.

Adjoining the pinetum, and winding through a pine wood, is a drive bordered with cedars, and leading to the above-mentioned avenue of that noble tree.

In one part of the grounds an artificial elevation of earth and gravel has been raised, for the purpose of commanding an extensive and well wooded view. This is faced and ornamented with roots, and with stems of old beeches of a very picturesque form, already much clothed with flowering and other creepers. The work is still in progress, but even the present effect is striking.

Many other things at Dropmore would require to be noticed, but our glance was too rapid to admit of more detailed recollections. For the lists of flowers and pines, and the observations on their culture and management, we are entirely indebted to Mr. Baillie; who has been head-gardener at Dropmore for five years, and to whom it is but doing justice to state that every thing under his care was in the highest order and keeping.

ART. II. *Outlines of Horticultural Chemistry, &c.* By G. W. JOHNSON, Esq., of Great Totham, Essex.

(*Continued from* p. 135.)

HOWEVER varying in the proportions, yet every soil is composed of silica, alumina, lime, magnesia, oxide of iron, salts, and animal and vegetable remains. The most important consideration is, what proportions those are which constitute a fertile soil. The *beau idéal* of a fertile soil is one which contains such a proportion of decomposing matter, as to keep the crop growing upon it always supplied with it in a state fit for introsusception, yet not so superabundantly as to render it too luxuriant, if the object in view is the production of seed: but, for the production of those plants whose foliage is the part in request, as spinach, or the production of edible bulbous roots, as onions, which have a small expanse of leaves, so as to be almost entirely dependent upon the soil for nourishment, there can scarcely be an excess of decomposed matter presented to their roots. Spinach, on rich soils, will yield successive cuttings, the same as to asparagus: the latter, especially, demands abundant applications of nourishment to its roots; since, like the onion, it has little foliage and slightly fibrous roots, at the same time that, like the spinach, it has to afford repeated cuttings, which, requiring a repeated developement of parts, need abundant food, and that in the immediate neigh-

1828, Vol. III, IX, 247-252, 'Original Beauty of Lines and Forms', Anon.

the Portugal and common laurels may maintain their full vigour, and neither drop nor become pale, as they often do when the trees are allowed to ripen their berries, the flower spikes are cut off as soon as they begin to fade. As the kitchen-garden and hot-houses here were undergoing alteration, the place could not be considered as in perfect order; otherwise, in as far as that order went, Whitmore Lodge was equal to Bromley Hill. To the gardener, Mr. Sharp, we have sent Sweet's *Hot-house and Greenhouse Manual*, for his encouragement and improvement.

Most of the other gardens deserve mentioning for something commendable; Mr. Donald's nursery is by far the best kept country nursery we have ever seen, and was literally without a weed; the flower-gardens at Ampthill and at Hawnes were well stocked and in good order; the gardener at Pains Hill understands his business well; the kitchen-garden at Claremont we can never like from the incongruous mixture of botany and kitchen crops, though both plants and crops were in vigorous growth; many parts of Deepdene about the house are exquisite, and Mr. Wood, the gardener, is a man of science, a good practical naturalist, and most assiduous; but for such a place he would require more hands; Bury Hill has long been celebrated, the hot-houses were in the first rate order, and though they are placed in the kitchen-garden, and the latter combines botanical plants, yet they are disposed in a manner less offensive to congruity than at Claremont; Rookesnest is kept in very good style, and the gardener, Mr. Squib, from whom we hope to hear on his vines, well deserves commendation; the gardener at Bickley, Mr. John Wells, had his flower-garden in the very first order, and deserves from his master Arnott's *Elements of Natural Philosophy* for himself, and *The Library of Useful Knowledge* for his son; the pleasure-ground at Sundridge Park is overgrown with trees, chiefly hornbeams, and other vulgar sorts. But, as soon as leisure permits, we shall give some farther notices of these and other gardens and places.

ART. IX. *Original Beauty of Lines and Forms.*

A LECTURE "on the beauties contained in the oval, and in the elliptic curves, both simple and combined, generated from the same figure or disk," was some time since delivered in the Royal Institution, by R. R. Reinagle, Esq. R.A., and a very interesting abstract of it is given in the *Quarterly Journal of Science* for October last. The subject had been before treated, as connected with elegant art, by Hogarth and Donaldson, artists whose theories of serpentine lines and flowing lines are well known. Mr. Reinagle's object is to prove that curved lines are beautiful in an abstract point of view, without reference to the associations which experience may have connected with them; and he has brought forward such evidence as, we think, cannot fail of convincing all who have turned their attention to the subject; unless, perhaps, we except the author of the Essay on Beauty, in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, who denies that there exists such a thing as original beauty, and maintains that all beauty, of whatever kind, and in every fine art, may be traced to the principle of association. Mr. Reinagle's theory and illustrations have all that superiority over those of Hogarth, which the more cultivated mind of its author, and the comparatively advanced state of the fine arts, might be supposed to admit. If Mr. Reinagle is not perfectly satisfactory on all points, his illustrations abound with so many undeniable truths, that every artist may profit from their perusal; and we shall, therefore, take a brief view of such parts of it as may

be brought to bear, by garden-artists, on that comparatively humble province of design which is applied to the laying out of flower-gardens.

Mr. Reinagle assumes it as an axiom, that every object eminently beautiful or grand is distinguished by an outline of definite character; that is, an outline which may be referred to one or more geometrical figures; or, more abstractedly, something that is a well-ordered whole, in opposition to something that is in a state of chaos or confusion. All beautiful objects, he says, are composed of undulating lines and elliptic curves; and all grand objects, of figures bounded by straight and angular lines. All objects in motion are characterised by curved lines; and all objects in a state of rest, by comparatively straight lines.

1. *Parallel Lines*, at equal distances, and of equal length, and whether in a horizontal or perpendicular position (*fig.* 65.) possess not the slightest character or principle of beauty, either separately or collectively.

65

Corollary as to Gardening. — Lines of invisible fences (i. e. such as bound lawns, and are to be looked through) should be simple and parallel, without any other angles or curves than what strength or construction renders absolutely necessary.

2. *Straight lines radiating from a centre* (*fig.* 66.), without creating any geometrical figure, are yet pleasing.

66

Coroll. — Avoid this form (sometimes adopted) at the ends of fences formed on the invisible principle; but adopt it sometimes in ornamental fences, and in spreading the branches of ornamental trees on walls or espaliers.

3. *Lines placed like a pile of planks* are disagreeable, singly and as a whole, from their indefiniteness (*fig.* 67.); but, if the pile be carried to a point (*fig.* 69.), they become tolerable as a whole, from their definiteness, or their assumption of a regular figure. An equilateral or an acute-angled triangle of such lines (*fig.* 68.), is naturally more pleasing than a right-angled triangle. (*fig.* 69.)

67 68 69

Coroll. — Bumps, or unconnected obtuse heaps of earth or rock-work, are disagreeable objects; earth in ridges, or rock-work in pointed or definite shapes, is more tolerable.

4. *Leaves of trees possess different degrees of original beauty*, according to the prevalence of straight lines or curved lines. Leaves may possess mere combination, or a very low degree of beauty (*fig.* 70. *a*);

70

some beauty, by the addition of curved lines to straight lines (*b*); a better approach (*c*); a progressive advance (*d*); a more perfect principle of beauty (*e*); the greatest portion of beautiful lines (*f*). Deformity, or a retrogradation from the principle of beauty, is produced by the abrupt union of straight lines with curved lines (*g*).

Coroll. — Some plants are absolutely more beautiful than others, independently altogether of colour, smell, rarity, or value; *e. g.* myrtle, box.

5. *Curved lines thrown down at random* are agreeable in themselves, and

71

form a more agreeable whole, or assemblage, than straight lines thrown down at random (*fig.* 71. *a* and *b*).

Coroll. — A flower-garden, composed of ungeometrical or irregular beds, bounded by straight lines and angles (*fig.* 72.), will have a less pleasing effect

72

than the same style of flower-garden composed of curved lines. (*fig.* 73.)

73

6. *Curved lines, formed into a figure on the radiating principle* (*fig.* 74. *a*), are handsomer than straight lines so connected (*b*).

74

Coroll. — Curled wool or hair is handsomer than what is straight; Stipa pennàta, than Juncus sylvàticus; an ear of barley, than an ear of wheat. Groups or beds of flowers form a less handsome flower-garden when merely scattered over the surface (*fig.* 73.), than when composed into a figure or figures (*fig.* 75., the flower-garden at Dropmore). Curved walks are naturally, or originally, handsomer than straight walks; so much so, that no principle is so frequently carried to excess in laying out grounds.

75

7. *Quantity and variety are essential to perfect beauty.* — A symmetry composed of equalities (*fig.* 76.), is less beautiful than a symmetry composed of inequalities. (*fig.* 77.)

77 76

Coroll. — A line of flower-beds consisting of a figure composed of various shapes and sizes (*fig.* 78. *a*), will be handsomer than one composed by a varied disposition of one single beautiful shape, even though of different sizes (*b*).

78

8. *Straight lines, radiating at unequal distances from curved lines*, possess no original beauty (*fig.* 79. *a*); but straight lines, forming irregular tangents to

curved lines, are beautiful (*b*) on the radiating principle.

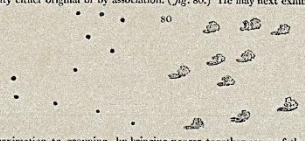
Coroll. — The lines of the basketwork enclosing the figures of parterres composed of curved lines, should also be of curved lines. In ornamental

gates and fences, the transition from indifferent lines to lines of original beauty should not be abrupt; *e. g.* Chinese gates and palisades, as contrasted with enriched Dutch and British iron gates and palisades.

These illustrations appear to be sufficient to prove that there is such a thing as original beauty in lines and forms; and this study may afford valuable hints to a garden-artist, provided he has the power of attending to what passes in his own mind, to such a degree as to prevent him from mistaking impressions arising from associations founded on utility, on historical or classical authorities, on imitations of antiquity or of nature, or on accidental associations, with impressions produced by figure or outline alone. To cultivate this sort of knowledge, Stewart's *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Stewart's *Philosophical Essays*, and Alison's *Essays on Taste*, will be found works of preeminent value.

After some practice in applying these principles to the lines and forms of flower-gardens, the young garden-artist may exercise himself in exemplifying them in the scattering of trees, groups, or clumps, over a flat surface. He may use dots on a sheet of paper, or marks with a stick on a sandy road, and begin with dots or clumps thrown down at random, or without any beauty either original or by association. (*fig.* 80.) He may next exhibit an

80

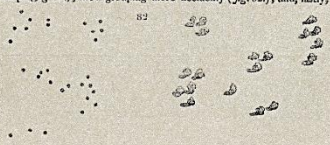


approximation to grouping, by bringing nearer together some of the dots

81

or clumps (*fig.* 81.); show grouping more decidedly (*fig.* 82.); and, lastly,

82



group so as to throw the surface into agreeable shapes. (*fig.* 83.) This will

83

be found all that the principle of original beauty of forms and lines can do, in planting a flat surface, without reference to other beauties, either of the materials of the scenes, or of the exterior scenery, or of established associations.

Art. X. *Garden Libraries.*

Library in the Glasgow Botanic Garden.—Your ideas as to garden libraries have been anticipated and acted upon to some extent by Mr. Murray, the very intelligent and judicious curator of the Glasgow botanic garden, for some years. By the application of a small sum annually, a considerable number of books on gardening subjects have been collected, expressly for the use of the workmen, who are besides allowed to attend the botanical lectures delivered at the garden (a most important advantage), in consideration of being sometimes detained in the evening watering during hot weather.—*A. W. July* 27.

A Library has been formed in a haberdasher's house in London, where there are upwards of twenty young men, who all board in the house, and who are thereby kept at home, improving and entertaining themselves, instead of running about the streets, without any definite object in view. This is a practice well deserving of imitation by other tradesmen. (*Times*, Sept. 18.)

The following Books we are desirous of recommending to young gardeners and to garden libraries in a most particular manner:—

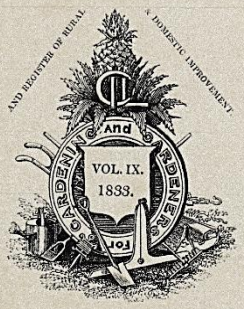
Arnott's Elements of Natural Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 700. 15*s.*—This is one of the most valuable works of the kind that have ever been published. We cannot sufficiently recommend it to every gardener whatever, whether young or old. It is a work which a man may take with him on a journey to exercise his mind, as Dr. Johnson took with him a book of arithmetic on his Highland tour. In an ample analysis of the work, in the *Times* newspaper, Oct. 5., after the highest praise, it is added: "To the most idle schoolboy it will be as entertaining as a treatise on witchcraft or legerdemain, and he will go through it with as much avidity; and it is, at the same time, a work in which the best informed man will find a great number of curious facts and illustrations, which, whatever his familiarity with principles may be, were probably not within his recollection, and very possibly not within his knowledge."

Popular Philosophy; or, the Book of Nature laid open upon Christian Principles, and agreeably to the Lights of Modern Science and the Progress

1833, Vol IX, XI, Dropmore, 559-561, Frost; 643-645, Loudon

THE

GARDENER'S MAGAZINE,



CONDUCTED

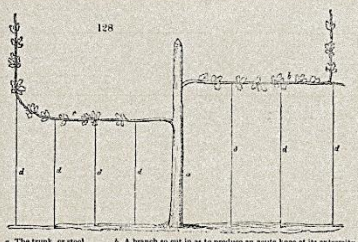
By J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. H.S. &c.

AUTHOR OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIAS OF GARDENING, OF AGRICULTURE, AND OF COTTAGE, FARM, AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE, AND EDITOR OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PLANTS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMAN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1833.



a, The trunk, or stool.
b, A branch so cut in as to produce an acute knee at its extremity.
c, A branch with the natural curve.
d, The upright posts to which the branches were, with nails and shreds, pinned down to the form.

This experiment, owing to my having to take my departure to a distant part of the country, was left entirely to nature, so that I am unprepared to say what the result may be. This, however, I consider of but little consequence, as the practical result is as certain as the celebrated method of making an egg stand upon the small end. Had these trees continued under my care, it was my intention to train the shoots to the extent of ten or twelve feet out from the trunk, when I would have given a natural or an acute curve as fancy might direct. Upon a tree trained upon this principle six to eight knees could be grown; and, what is of no small importance, they can be put into the form required with very little trouble or expense.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

JAMES MUNRO.

Brechin Nursery, August 5. 1833.

ART. XI. *A Notice of the Species of Pines added to the Pinetum at Dropmore, and of some showy Species of flowering Plants which decorate the Garden there.* By Mr. PHILIP FROST, Head Gardener at Dropmore.

Sir,

I SEND you, according to the wish expressed by you when here, a list of the new species of pines which have been added to our pinetum subsequently to the publication of an account of it in your Vol. III. p. 263. to 268.: —

Pinus Lambertiàna.	*Pinus nigricans.*	*Cèdrus Deodàra.*
taxifòlia.	*Pichta* Fischer.	Also an unknown species, sent here for *Deodara.*
L'havesàna.	ponderòsa.	
monticola.	Sabiniàna.	
grandis.	Sabiniàna var.	*Araucària* [Altíngia]
hispánica.	Gerardiàna.	Cunninghàmi.
amábilis.	nóbilis.	*Dámmara* austrális.

I shall also give you a brief notice of some of the new and beautiful plants which we bed out, group, or otherwise apply for the decoration of the out-door garden during summer.

Verbèna venòsa is one of the greatest treasures of the garden when planted out in a bed; and we have a bed of plants of it arranged by the side of a bed of *Verbèna* chamædrifòlia, and the abundant blossoms of the two, those of each so beautiful and so unlike those of its neighbour, supply superb masses of colour, mutually relieved and enhanced in splendour by the striking contrast of the colours of the two. *Verbèna* venòsa may be readily multiplied by cuttings inserted under a hand glass, or in a frame with a little heat. It has a peculiar property of throwing up suckers at a distance from the root, which soon make a good thick bed. Any light soil suits it.

Verbèna Sabini? is quite a new plant here. I am preparing for a bed next season. It is a procumbent and delicate little plant, well adapted for beds, or to hang over the sides of flower baskets.

Nierembérgia phœnicea is also a fine plant for grouping into beds, but should not be planted thick, or it becomes too much crowded.

Nicotiàna longiflòra is a beautiful plant to stand singly in borders. It grows three feet high, and produces a mass of large white flowers, which close for a few hours in the middle of the day. Its seeds should be sown in the autumn; and, if the plants arising from them be kept in a cold frame or greenhouse, they will flower earlier and finer than if not sown until the spring.

Calandrínia grandiflòra is also an eligible plant for borders. It attains two feet in height, and is very showy.

Salpiglóssis, the species of, do well here, treated after the same manner.

Argemòne grandiflòra is also a great acquisition to the borders.

A great many plants are naturalised throughout the woods here; and it will be my study to scatter all the seeds I can procure, in every wild part, which, if they grow, will eventually supply great pleasure and amusement to the traveller.

This might be done in various parts of the kingdom, and would add greatly to the beauty of every place.

Clumps of Plants of the Tuberose I have this year planted clumps of bulbs of the tuberose (Poliánthes tuberòsa *L.*), which are now remarkably fine, and are delightfully fragrant. In planting them, I prepared a hole four feet deep, and filled it up three feet with well decomposed manure, and one foot of turfy loam, with a small portion of sand. They are admired by every observer, as being the finest they have ever seen.

If my observations prove of any service to you, I shall feel much pleasure in having forwarded them.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

PHILIP FROST.

Dropmore, September 2. 1833.

BOTANISTS are not agreed upon either the generic or specific relations of the beautiful plant called, above, Nierembérgia phœnícea; and, consequently, are not agreed upon either its generic or specific name. Dr. Hooker, in the number of Curtis's *Botanical Magazine* for Dec. 1831 (see *Gard. Mag.*, vol. viii. p. 21.), has, in t. 3113., where he has given a figure and description of the plant, denominated it Salpiglóssis integrifólia. No plant can, in habit, be well more unlike any species of Salpiglóssis under present cultivation in our gardens; and if the characters of habit are of that value which Dr. Lindley's separation of the genus Lòwea from the genus Rósa, by means of them alone, assigns to them, Salpiglóssis integrifólia *Hooker* can hardly be deemed a Salpiglóssis at all. In Sweet's *British Flower-Garden* for December, 1832, t. 172., there is published a figure of that elegant little green-house plant, Nierembérgia gracílis, with a description of it by David Don, Esq., who appends to the description a notice of the close relationship subsisting between the genera Salpiglóssis, Nierembérgia, and *Petúnia*, more particularly between the latter two, and remarks to the effect that the plant which Dr. Hooker has denominated Salpiglóssis integrifólia is rather a species of *Petúnia*; and he there proposes to call it *Petúnia* phœnícea. As the plant, in habit of growth, foliage, inflorescence, calyx, seed-vessel, and punctulate seeds, closely resembles the *Petúnia* nyctaginiflòra, although it has not, like that, a long slender tube to its corolla, it would seem natural to deem it a species of *Petunia*; and, were this determined on, the epithet phœnícea, expressive of the rich colour of the plant's blossoms, would seem to be a not unsuitable one. In some gardens the plant is designated by the name of *Petúnia* integrifólia; but, if the plant be received as a *Petúnia*, the epithet integrifólia does not distinguish it from the *P.* nyctaginiflòra, which has also entire leaves; although, while the plant was considered a species of Salpiglóssis, the term integrifólia did sufficiently express the plant's distinctness from the species of Salpiglóssis previously in cultivation, whose leaves have margins more or less divided. However, in Sweet's *British Flower-Garden* for June, 1833, t. 193., Mr. D. Don, who has there supplied a figure and description of this plant, has proposed to include the genus *Petúnia* in the genus Nierembérgia, and has accordingly published the present plant under the name of Nierembérgia phœnícea; a name indi-

less danger from overheating in the dung-bed, and much less risk of the plants damping off from vapour arising from the soil. The improvement was made by Mr. Patrick, who formerly lived at this place, and who has promised us a plan and section of the pits. All the houses and most of the pits here are heated by hot water. There are a good many hedges of spruce fir, which, when not too severely cut, lasts many years; and there is a wall of loose ragstone, covered with ivy, which makes a very handsome evergreen fence. Mr. Oldacre has had the plantation which sheltered the north side of this garden removed to the distance of 300 ft. from the walls, as, when it was within 50 ft. of them, the birds were found to destroy almost every thing in the garden. This is an improvement wanted in very many gardens.

Burnham. — Near this village is a small villa in the castellated Gothic style, faced with beautiful white Stourbridge brick, in tolerable taste; but the grounds are badly arranged, and neglected. We entered this villa through the grounds belonging to a very pretty cottage occupied by a Mrs. Jackson. The passage is under a veranda, which, beyond the house, changes to an arcade of climbing plants; through the openings in which are seen groups of flowers on lawn.

Dropmore, Earl Grenville. — *July* 31. Beautiful as this place always is, it has been very much improved since we last visited it in 1826. (See Vol. III. p. 257. and p. 481.) Mr. Baillie has been succeeded by Mr. Frost, a most active and intelligent young man, well fitted for such a situation. A new entrance lodge has been formed on the Burnham side, covered with trunks of trees, in the manner of a Russian log-house, with a chimney top in the style of those of Venice; rather an incongruous assemblage, which forms a false note of preparation for a place which, in other respects, is generally in consistent taste. We were first shown into the range of flower-gardens, which forms a line with the lawn front of the house; and certainly there is nothing of the kind in a flat situation, that we know of, superior to it. In point of picturesque beauty, the flower-garden scenery at Redleaf, Montreal, and Bromley Hill, is much finer; but the flower-garden at Dropmore shows what may be done by art on a surface wholly without natural advantages. The effect is produced by the arrangement of the beds, and by the distribution of pedestals with vases, statues, and other sculptures, and by therms and other mural and architectural ornaments. To connect the whole with the house, there is an architectural wall, with an open Italian parapet in the front of its border in one place, and in others various hot-houses, which are placed against it. The vases

and sculptures are partly of real, partly of artificial, stone, and partly of china-ware. There are benches with carved backs, made of wood, but painted and sanded in imitation of Bath stone, which are particularly good; as are a number of Austin's vases, fountains, candelabra, and other ornaments; as well as a manner of forming pedestals of open brickwork for supporting sculptures. The parapets are of artificial stone, or brickwork covered with cement; the wall against which the hot-houses are placed is of brick, covered with trelliswork; and the hot-houses are of wood, painted green. This green colour in the hot-houses and the trellises is what we can never reconcile ourselves to: it detracts from the avowedly artificial character of the rest of the scenery. We shall not offer a single argument on the subject, but simply state our own feelings, which have always been the same ever since we saw, in 1806, the pea-green hot-houses of Mr. Hare (now, we believe, Sir Thomas Hare), at his seat in the neighbourhood of Downham, in Norfolk. The reason of our dislike can only be found in the want of harmony between this green and the green of nature. Let the woodwork of the hot-houses at Dropmore be imagined of a stone colour, or of the colour of any kind of timber, or even brown or grey bark, and how different would be the effect! In walking through the grounds, we were everywhere, as in 1826, charmed and delighted; and we were still more so now than then, at finding the number of rustic stands, vases, &c. diminished. The pinetum has received numerous additional species, and the sorts which were rare in 1826 have now attained a considerable size, and some have been found hardier than was expected. We particularly allude to Cunninghàmia lanceolàta and *Aracaùria* imbricàta, both of which are found so hardy as to stand here without protection. We could enumerate a number of species, with the sight of which we were much gratified, but we refer our readers to Mr. Frost's article on this subject (p. 559.). It is almost needless to state that in the flower-garden were to be found all the new, rare, and beautiful hardy flowering plants. We were particularly struck with the number of plants of that gorgeous iridean bulb, Gladiolus natalénsis (psittacinus), splendidly in bloom; *Mádia* élegans, *Petùnia* phœnicea, Calandrìnia grandiflòra, and *Verbèna* venòsa, which produces underground stolones, and is particularly fitted for filling a bed in a very short time. Tournefórtia *heliotropioìdes* is likewise well adapted for beds, and also Nicotiàna longiflòra, which we found profusely covered with odoriferous flowers. The day being cloudy, the œnotheras had a splendid appearance. The masses of Campánula

carpática in some places, and of *Verbèna* chamædrifòlia and of the common clove in others, had a most brilliant effect. There is a large compartment of standard roses, the highest of which, in the centre, is 15 ft., and which slope down on the sides to 5 ft. Mr. Frost is endeavouring to naturalise many plants, both annuals and perennials, in the woods, by planting and sowing there all his spare plants and seeds. It is incredible what may be done in this way, since it has been proved that the seeds of some stove annuals will remain in the open ground during our winters, and come up and flower vigorously during summer. Viewing the subject in this light, we see no reason why the common pelargoniums, some of the fuchsias, balsams, and many other plants of warm climates, should not be treated as hardy annuals, as well as nasturtiums, marvel of Peru, &c. Perhaps many such annuals may be naturalised in the warmer parts of the island. But we shall not attempt to go into details. Stuártia virginica *Dec.* (Malachodéndron *L.*) is now magnificently in bloom here, as are various plants in the hot-houses and conservatories.

Cliefden House, Sir George Warrender. — The house was burned down many years ago, but is now rebuilding. We suppose the elevation is nearly a *fac simile* of the house that was burned down, otherwise we are at a loss to conceive how a modern architect could introduce half columns and an architrave in the manner here done in the basement story. The original terrace, which remained uninjured, is a noble object, upwards of 25 ft. high, and 363 ft. long: it commands extensive views of the Thames and of the country beyond, and descends, by a magnificent double flight of steps, to a lawn; intended, as Mr. Dodds, the gardener, informed us, to be laid out as a flower-garden. If so, as it is at a considerable distance from the eye, and quite beneath it, it ought to be a flower-garden of dwarf-growing select shrubs. The flower-garden of herbaceous flowers might be in front of the conservatory. Perhaps it will be thought that the latter space is hardly ample enough for such a purpose; but let it be kept in the very highest order, and it will be found to produce more beauty, and to give more satisfaction to the owner, than one ten times the size kept as such gardens generally are. The entrance front is, very properly, on the opposite side to the terrace front: it is approached by a straight avenue, passing over table land, and entering the court of honour through iron gates. To the right and left are advancing wings, and high walls enclosing the old kitchen-garden and offices on the one hand, and the flower-garden and conservatory on the other. The place is in a state of regeneration,

1837, Vol. XIII, I, Dropmore, 4-5, Rutger

THE

GARDENER'S MAGAZINE,

JANUARY, 1837.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

ART. I. *Brief Notices, made on several Occasions, when visiting some Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, in the Autumn of* 1836. By THOMAS RUTGER.

As many of the places named below are, in some instances, amply described in the Ninth Volume of this Magazine, I have endeavoured to avoid repetition, and only noticed such things as may be considered useful and interesting to the gardening world in general, as well as to those who may feel a particular interest in the places visited.

Ditton Park. — In taking a view of Ditton Park, the seat of Lord Montagu, I was particularly struck with the fine and lofty timber trees which are growing in a soil which seems to be well adapted for all the kinds indigenous to Britain. Mr. Hutchinson, the gardener, pointed out a lime which, he said, measured nearly 130 ft. in height. In the park are some declining oaks of gigantic dimensions. In surveying the lawns, divided, as they are, into several sections, by trees and shrubs of stately growth, it occurred to me that very few places at an equal distance from the metropolis could be found to offer such advantages for the introduction of all the choice and newly introduced trees and plants, which are now becoming the ornaments of many of the principal gentlemen's seats and villas in this country. Here they would find ample protection, as well as a soil apparently well suited to their growth. Near one of the small lawns is a green-house, or conservatory, with a trellis at the back, furnished with young orange trees, which appear healthy: in front of the conservatory is the flower-garden, in a situation which I approve of, it being pretty near the house, and, at the same, time so separated from the lawns as not to interfere with them. The flower-garden is in the Dutch style, with an erection in the centre for seats, which is covered with ivy. On one side of the flower-garden there is a handsome pyramid, or cone, of the giant ivy, mixed with the Ayrshire rose, and the Virginian creeper, supported by the re-

beauty when arrived at maturity. At present, they may average about 25 ft. or 30 ft. in height, and are backed up by a plantation on each side.

As a matter of taste, perhaps some may think that, in some parts of the grounds at Dropmore, the transitions are too sudden, from those which are in high keeping, to those which are rough and nearly in a state of nature: but this could be easily remedied, should it be thought desirable. In the kitchen-garden, Mr. Frost has begun to try his skill at pine-growing, in which, I think, there is but little doubt of his succeeding, as his small young stock is in a fine healthy state, and promises to make fine plants for fruiting. I regretted much that the day was so far spent as to afford much less time than I desired, not only for viewing the premises, but also for conversing with Mr. Frost, whom I found very intelligent, and not less kind in his attentions. He has a nice little library, which augurs well.

present nearly a fac-simile of each other; forming fine round heads, with handsome boles, and most of them being loaded with fruit. Mr. Oldacre does not permit the branches of the trees to touch the ground, but, by pruning, keeps them about 3 ft. or 4 ft. from the surface. The family being at Stoke Farm, it was not convenient for me to have a view of the flower-gardens and grounds, which I could not help regretting; but, nevertheless, felt myself amply repaid by a sight of the kitchen-garden, and by the kind attention of Mr. Oldacre, who, as a kitchen-gardener, has for so many years preserved a high reputation.

Dropmore. — On approaching Dropmore from the Burnham side, my anticipations, as far as it regards the approach to a place of such celebrity, were not realised: the soil, apparently, not being congenial to the growth of fine English timber trees; and too few of them are to be seen to give that character to the place which is to be found in some others of less magnitude. To landscape-gardeners in general, I conceive that Dropmore, with regard to the scenery of its interior, does not yield that satisfaction which they may be led to expect from mere report; but to the admirers of Flora, in all her richest varieties of beauty and splendour, when heightened by the free introduction of architectural ornaments, such as vases, pedestals, statues, &c., it cannot fail to afford a rich repast. In short, there seems to be almost a redundancy of beauty and variety here, a description of which a transient visitor can scarcely attempt to give. Mr. Frost, with a limited number of hands, when compared with former years, perseveres with the utmost ardour in improvements, and in keeping up a perpetual succession of all that is most select, rare, and beautiful in the flower-garden and its appendages; to accomplish which thousands of pots must be necessary, in the course of the season, for a constant reserve, to replace such of the flowers as are dying off in the numerous clumps and borders which he has to supply. The pinetum is still progressing, and many specimens are to be seen thriving admirably, in a soil which seems better adapted for pines than for most of the indigenous and deciduous trees of Britain. Improvements in enlarging the water, and making rough banks with the excavated soil alluded to in Vol. III. p. 263., are still carrying on, at a great outlay of labour and expense; and, for convenience as well as for ornament, a bridge is to be constructed over a part of the water. Upon these rough banks the pinetum is extending, and eventually must give a character of no ordinary kind to that portion of the grounds. The cedar drive, as it is called, consisting of a winding avenue of the cedar of Lebanon of about one third of a mile in length, begins to assume a striking appearance. The trees are of about 25 years' growth, and are planted at a distance from each other sufficient to show their

Extracts from Volume V of the Gardeners Magazine

From ‘Remarks on various gardens about London….visited in April and May 1829’ by Jacob Rinz jun. Nurseryman, Frankfurt on the Main

p.383
Dropmore - Of all the parks which I saw in England that of Dropmore pleased me the most. Some very good ideas are displayed in its laying out, which are also very well executed. The flower-garden is not, as I like it, united with the shrubbery; but still its is laid out with good taste, and wherever one might think it necessary to divide the flower-garden from the shrubbery, it should be done in that style. There is a pretty large collect ion of pines, and some araucarias are standing in open air with protection.. Mr Bailey [Baillie] has a great quantity of Lobelia fulgens and cardinalis, which will be planted in masses, and will produce a good effect. The houses looked beautiful, and were embellished with a great many forced flowers. The orangery is large and well kept, and will be still further enlarged this season. Should this place remain for a time under the present style of management, it will soon become one of the most interesting gardens in Britain.

Letter from W. M. – Argyleshire, November 1828 [having not seen Dropmore]

p.728
The flower-garden at Dropmore (Vol. III. p. 258) I think on a good principle, so as to give gardens in beauty by the succession of summer and winter flowers intermixed, at the same time that each set reigns in its season; but the plan of the flower garden is somewhat objectionable, particularly the centre (1), and its appendages (15 15 15 15). Your own remarks on the plan of the Welford Hall grounds, I think in some degree applicable here (Vol. IV. p. 91) [Not Loudon and a quite different layout].It is very difficult to judge correctly from ground plants, of the effects produced by different modes of laying out and disposing the patches and dug borders of a flower parterres. The more frequent introduction of such plans, I doubt not, will be of great advantage to the profession of practical gardeners, who may be enabled to pick up something from even the worst plan, if it should only be to correct one of is own blunders. ….

1837, Vol. XIII, IV, Boconnoc, 121, Rutger

ART. IV. *Notices of Gardens and Country Seats in Great Britain and Ireland, supplementary to, or corrective of, the Notices given in the "Encyclopædia of Gardening."* By various Contributors.

(*Continued from* p. 61.)

ENGLAND.

TREGOTHNAN, near Truro, Cornwall, on the river Fal; Earl of Falmouth.— The house is superbly built, with an exterior embellished with a profusion of small towers and pinnacles. The walks, which are delightfully shaded, extend in different directions over an eminence; and the whole is well wooded. The park is large, and stocked with deer, and commands a beautiful variety of scenery over the navigable waters of the Fal. The drives, which are several miles in length, afford the most enchanting prospects.

Werrington Park, near Launceston; Duke of Northumberland. — Although it lies on the Cornish side of the river Tamar, it is nevertheless considered to be in Devonshire; at least, the temporal causes of the parish of Werrington are subject to the county of Devon, while its ecclesiastical polity is connected with the archdeaconry of Cornwall; and with these circumstances, with some others, it may be considered to be attached to both counties. The house is a noble structure, situated on the southern side of the Tamar. The new buildings of this mansion, which compose a large part of the whole, have three fronts, in each of which there is a door that opens into an extensive park; the scenery of which is exceedingly rich and diversified, and has an air of great magnificence, particularly in a southern direction, where the view takes in an elegant bridge of great extent thrown across the Tamar. Here the grounds spring up in abrupt knolls, covered with foliage, which shades the waters that are winding down among the rocks, whence they burst forth, and form an expansive lake below.

Boconnoc, some distance from Bodmin; Lord Grenville. — The mansion was new modelled by Governor Pitt, who added a new wing; and the first Lord Camelford added a second, in which there is a handsome gallery, 100 ft. long. It is situated in a delightful lawn, of nearly 100 acres, which is varied by plantations and trees; and the wooded hills around rise in beautiful succession; among which a drive is carried on for six miles in circuit, giving access to every part of the grounds, and affording fine views of the scenery. The oak is more flourishing here than in most parts of Cornwall; and the beech and elm grow luxuriantly. An elegantly proportioned obelisk, at some distance, on the northern side of the house, forms a prominent feature: it was erected to the memory of Sir Richard Lyttleton, and is now surrounded by a plantation of firs. Boconnoc will be long interesting in the annals of Great Britain, from its having been alternately the head quarters of the Earl of Essex, and the court of His Majesty King Charles I. in the year 1644.

Trelowarren, five Miles South of Helstone; Sir Richard Vyvyan, Bart. — A fine old castellated building. The plantations here are very extensive, and in some parts of them the wood thrives remarkably well, and produces fine timber. The grounds about the house are of a pleasing description; and a part of the garden was, a few years ago, devoted to a systematic arrangement of plants. Near to this place are the Goonhilly Downs, on which the Cornish heath (Gypsocállis vàgans) grows spontaneously.

Clowance, near Hayle, between Helstone and Camborne. — A large portion of the estate is surrounded by a stone wall, nearly four miles in length, erected by the present Sir John St. Aubyn, which encloses the mansion, park, pleasure-grounds, garden, &c. Trees grow here better than in most places in the west of Cornwall. A fine sheet of water adds great beauty to the place, which is generally much admired by visiters. This is the first place in Cornwall where the western plane (*Plátanus occidentàlis*) was introduced.

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The Buckler Drawings, BL Add MS 36358
House and Facades

Figure 1:Dropmore June 10th, f. 43

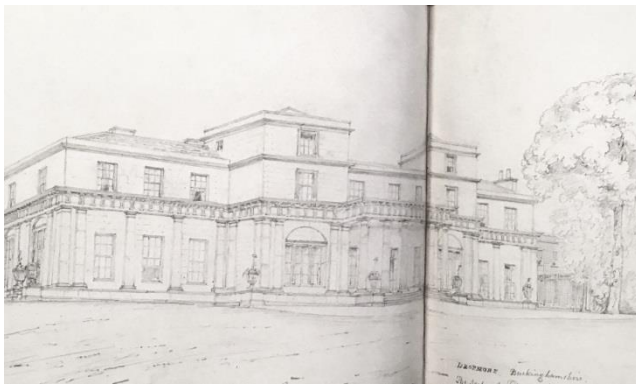

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Figure 4:Dropmore March 24th 1818, f. 55

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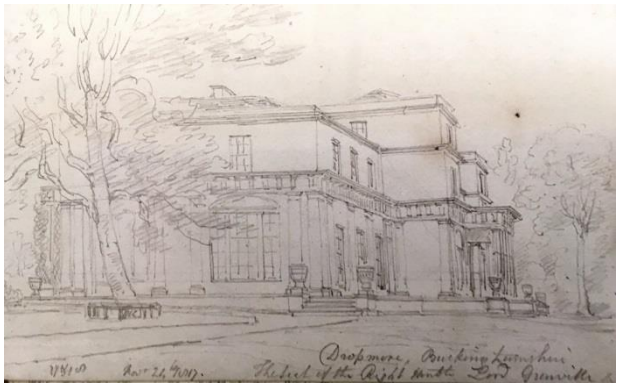

Figure 6:Dropmore, November 21st 1817, f. 50

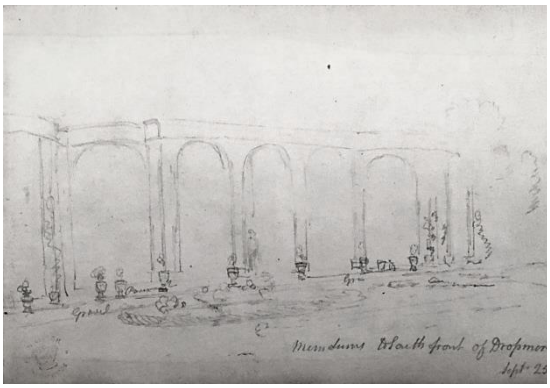

Figure 7:Memdiems to the South Front of Dropmore 25th September 1815, f. 49

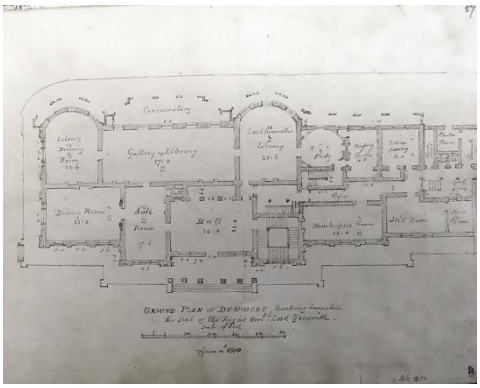

Figure 8:Ground Plan of Dropmore June 10th 1818, f. 57

Figure 9:Dropmore. Interior View of the Hall at March 22nd [1818], f. 53

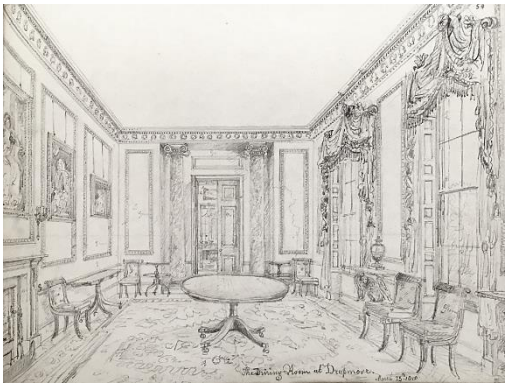

Figure 10:Dropmore Dining Room 25th March 1818, f. 54

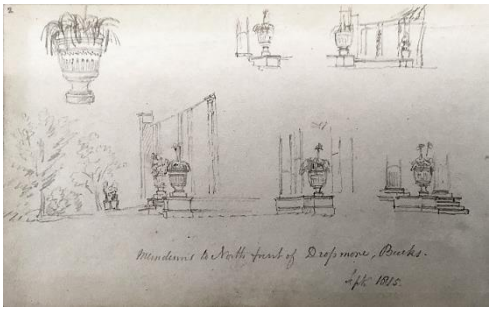

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Figure 12:Chair in the Hall at Dropmore June 12th 1815, f. 46

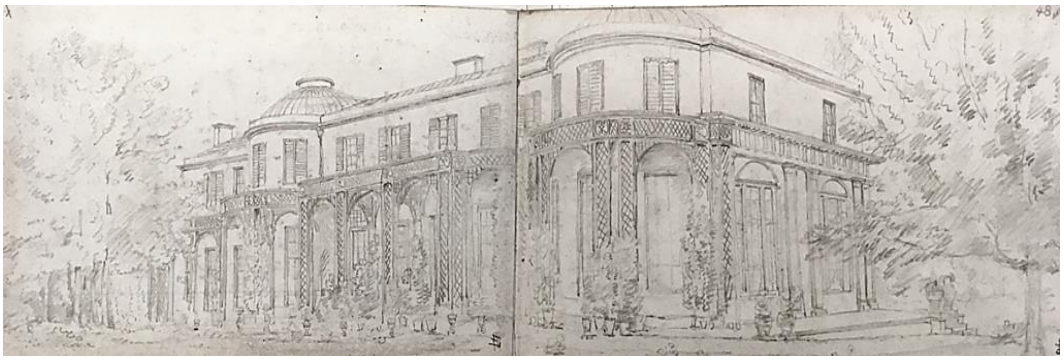

Figure 13:S.E.V of Dropmore April 25 1815, f. 48

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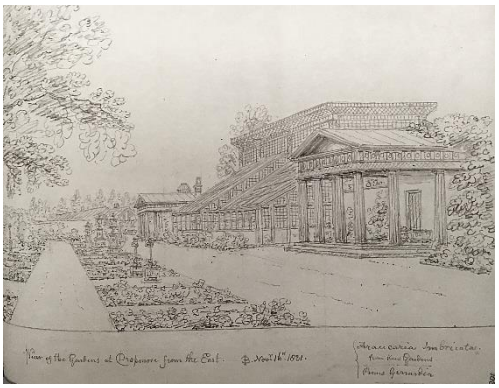

Figure 14: View of the Gardens at Dropmore from the East November 16th 1831, f. 106

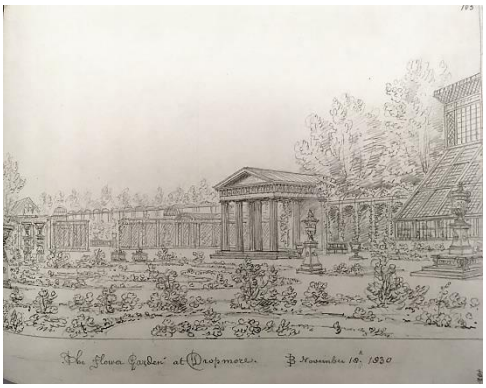

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Figure 17:[Sketch of Digitalis etc probably at Dropmore, untitled and undated], f. 67v

Figure 18:View of Windsor from the Grounds of Dropmore 1819, f. 67

Figure 19:Dropmore November 16th 1830, f. 100

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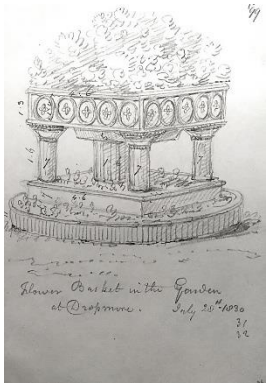

Figure 20:Flower Basket in the Garden at Dropmore July 28th 1830 31, 32, f. 99

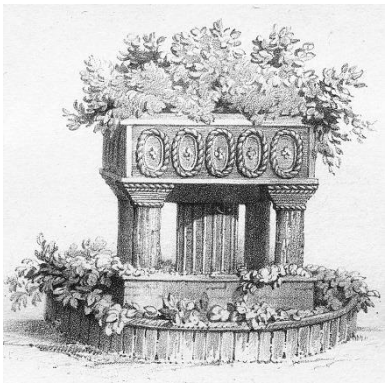

Figure 21:Dropmore, *Essays*, p. 39

Figure 22:Dropmore, *Essays*, p. 5.

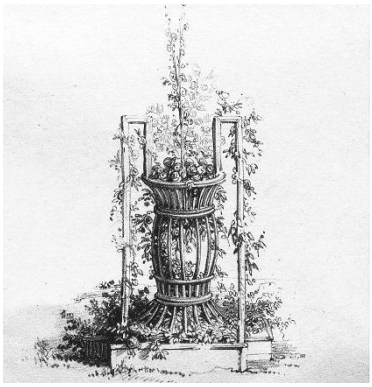

Figure 23:Dropmore, *Essays*, p. 38

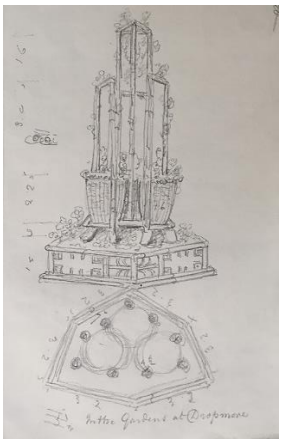

Figure 24; In the Gardens at Dropmore; f. 107v

Figure 25; In the Gardens at Dropmore July 3rd 1832

Figure 26:In the Gardens at Dropmore July 18th 1832, f. 108

Figure 27: In the Gardens at Dropmore July 18th 1832, f. 109

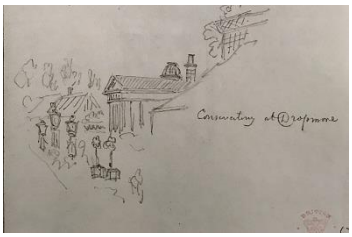

Figure 28:[Pots in front of] the Conservatory at Dropmore c.1832, f. 107

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Figure 31:Cottage at Dropmore October 19th, f. 62

Figure 32:Cottage at Dropmore October 21st 1818, f. 63

Figure 33:Farm House at Dropmore June 10th 1818, f. 59

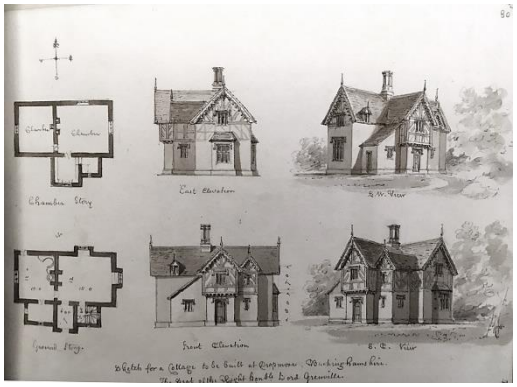


Figure 34:Sketch for a Cottage to be built at Dropmore [undated], f. 80

Figure 35:Cottage building at Dropmore November 11th 1823, f. 78

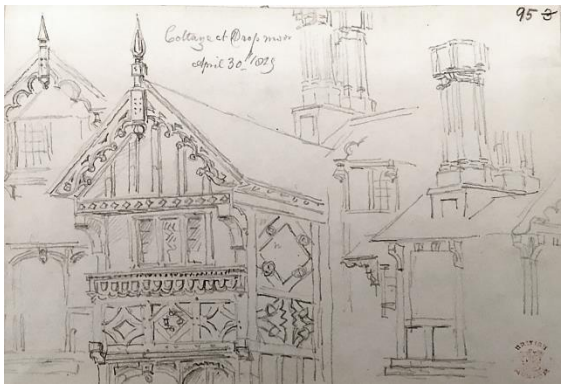


Figure 36:Cottages at Dropmore April 30th 1829, f. 95

Figure 37:Cottage at Dropmore November 15th 1825, f. 90

Figure 38:Cottages building at Dropmore November 17th 1824, f. 83

Figure 39:Double Cottage at Dropmore July 1st 1825, f .83

Figure 40:North East View of the Double Cottage at Dropmore April 29 1830, f. 96

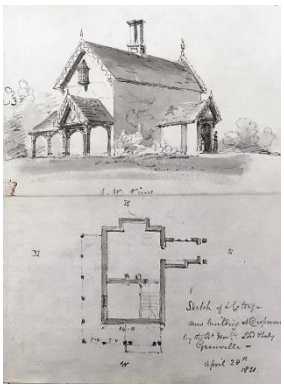


Figure 41:Sketch of a Cottage now building at Dropmore April 28th 1821, f. 68

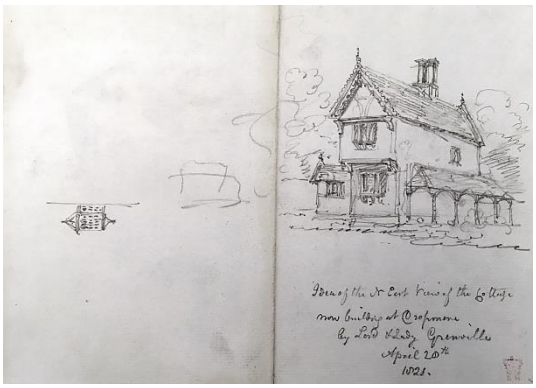


Figure 42:Idea of N. East View of Cottage now building at Dropmore April 20th 1821, f. 68v

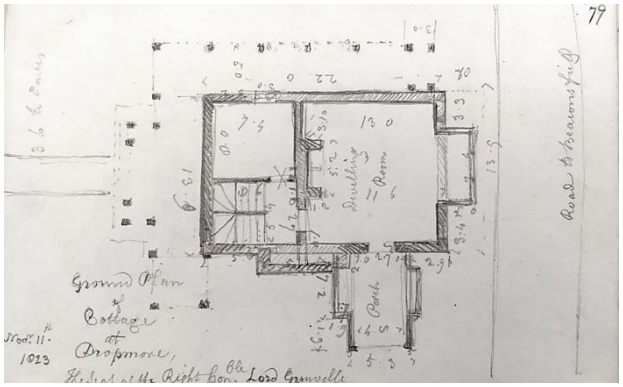


Figure 43: Ground Plan of Cottage at Dropmore November 11th 1823, f. 79

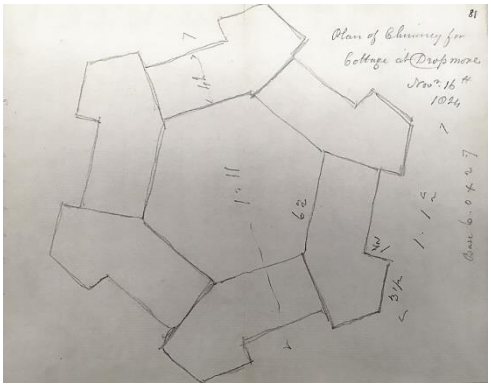


Figure 44:Plan of Chimney for Cottage at Dropmore November 16th 1824, f. 81

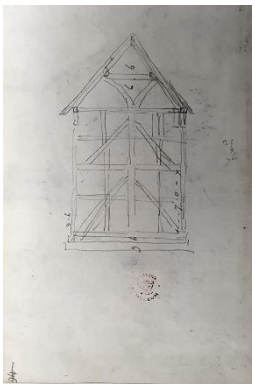
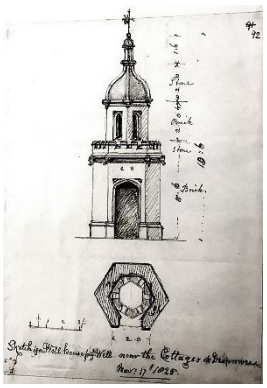


Figure 45:[Sketch of Wooden Framing for a building, untitled and undated], f. 78v



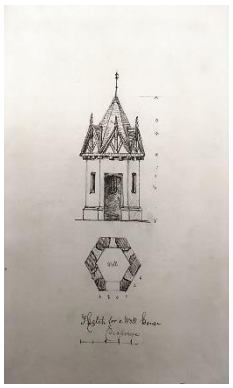


Figure 46:Three sketches of a Well House for the Well near the Cottages at Dropmore 1825, ff. 91-93

Figure 47:Cottages at Dropmore June 10 1818, f. 5

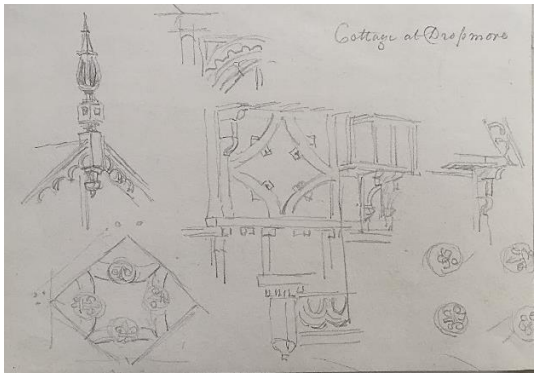


Figure 48; Cottage at Dropmore [detail - undated], f. 95v

Seat of Mammea

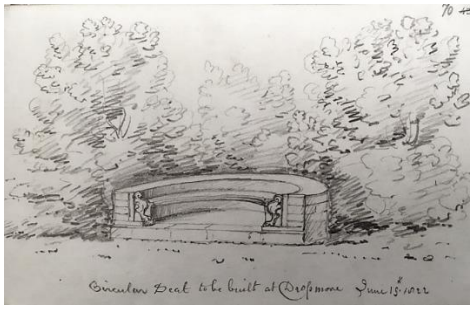


Figure 49:Circular Seat to be built at Dropmore June 15th 1822, f. 70

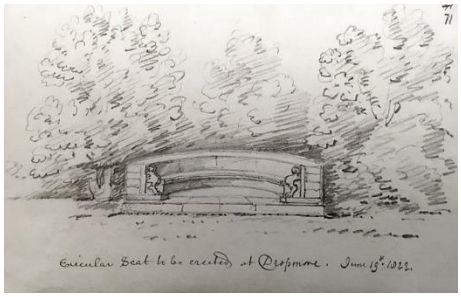


Figure 50:Circular Seat to be erected at Dropmore June 19th 1822, f. 71

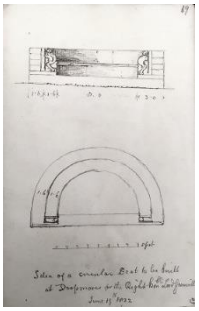


Figure 51:Idea of a circular seat to be built at Dropmore June 19th 1822, f. 69

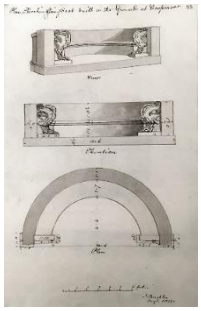


Figure 52:Plan Elevation & View of a Seat built in the grounds of Dropmore August 1824, f. 88

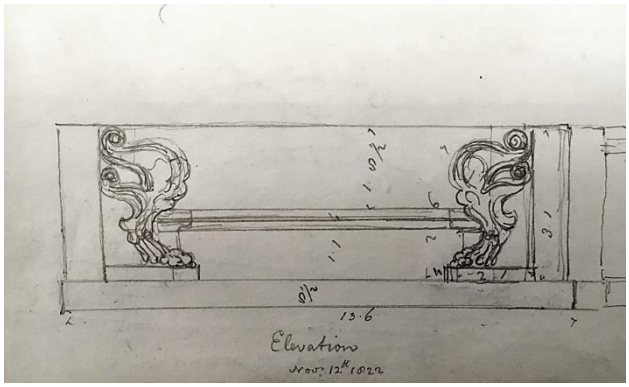


Figure 53:Elevation November 12th 1822, f. 72v

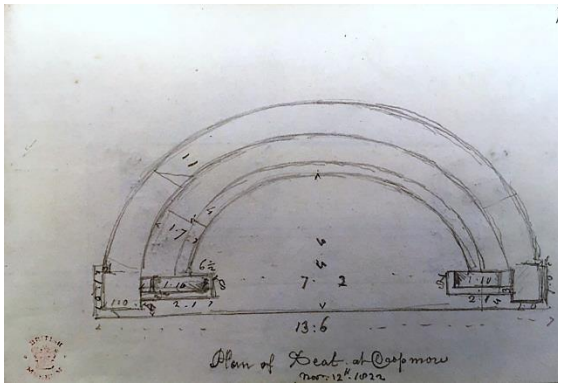


Figure 54:Plan of Seat at Dropmore November 12th 1822, f. 72

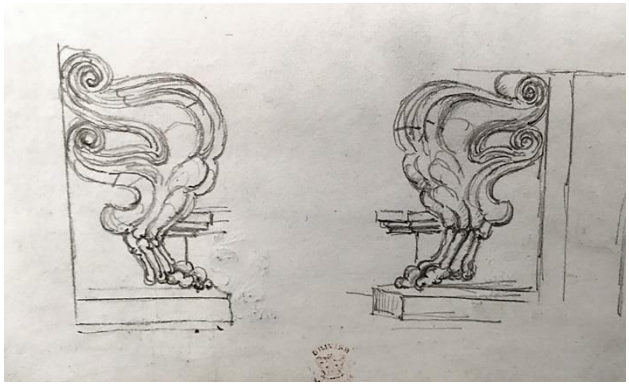


Figure 55:[proposed detail untitled and undated], f. 73v

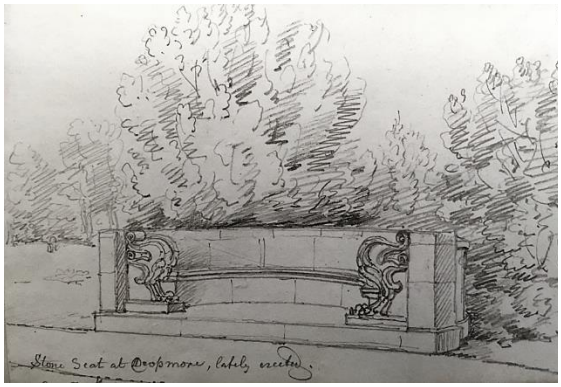


Figure 56:Stone Seat at Dropmore, lately erected November 12th 1822, f. 72

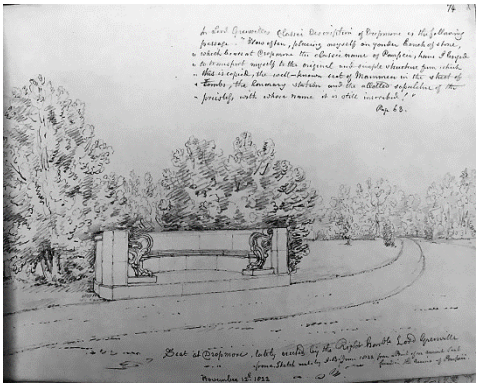


Figure 57:Seat at Dropmore lately erected …from a sketch made by J B in June 1823. [annotated with an extract from 'Dropmore' *Essays*], f. 74

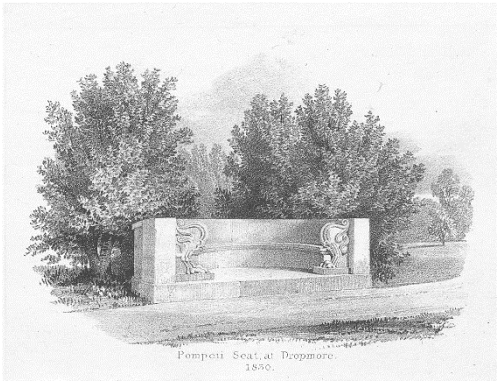


Figure 58:Dropmore, *Essays*, p. 63

Seats and Garden Structures

Rustic

Figure 59: Root House at Dropmore. October 19th 1818, f. 61

Figure 60: Ice House at Dropmore 27th November 1817, f. 52

Figure 61:The Ice House at Dropmore April 30, 31 32, f. 98

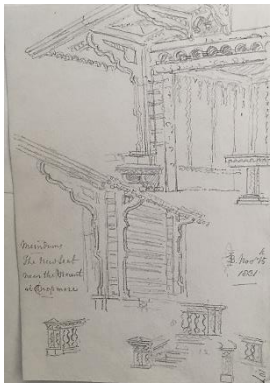


Figure 62; Memdiems the New Seat near the Mount at Dropmore [undated], f. 95v

Figure 63:New Seat near the Mount at Dropmore November 14th 1831, f. 104

Figure 64:Seat at Dropmore 1833, f. 75

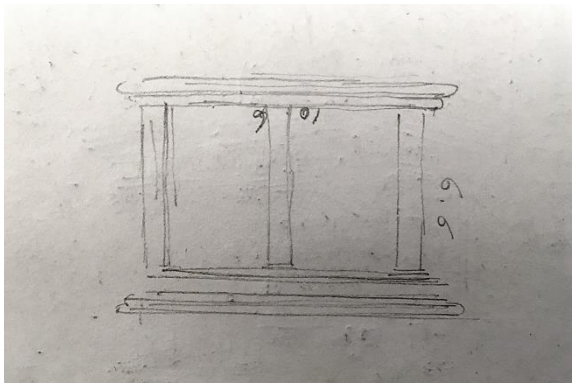


Figure 65:[Sketch untitled and undated possibly a proposal for f. 75] f. 75v

Figure 66:Chancellors Laurel at Dropmore November 13th 1832, f. 111

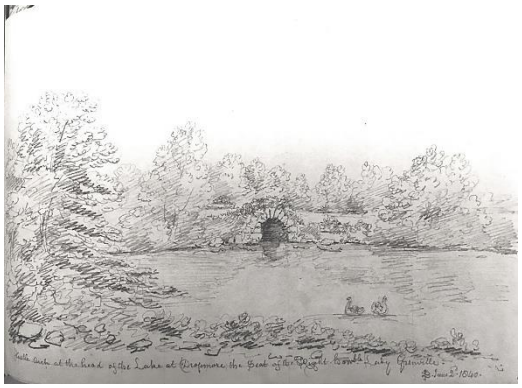


Figure 67:Rustic Arch at the head of the Lake at Dropmore June 2nd 1840, f. 116

Figure 68:North View of the Arch of the Terrace November 13th 1832, f. 110

Figure 69:South View of the Arch of the Terrace at Dropmore November 13th 1832, f. 89

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Figure 72: Seat at Dropmore November 10th 1823, f. 77

Figure 73:Seat at Dropmore June 3rd 1818, f. 56

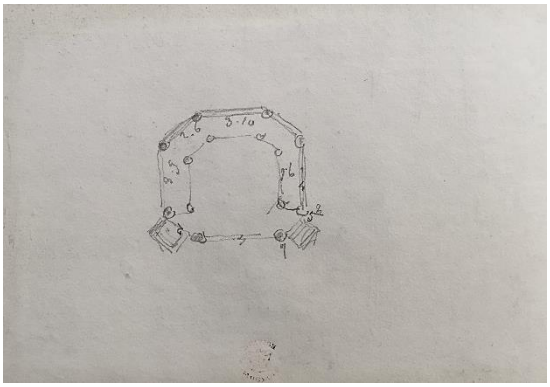
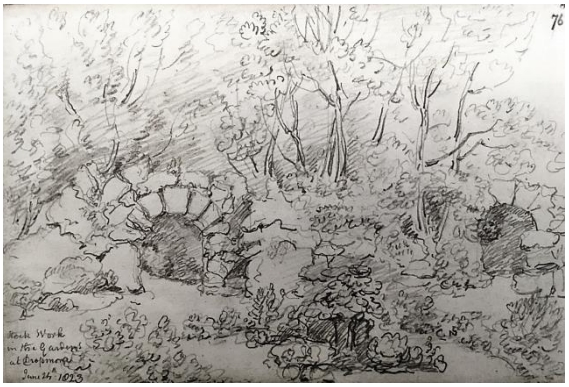


Figure 74; [Floorplan of the Seat at Figure 68 - untitled and undated.], f. 77v



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Classical

Figure 76:New Seat at Dropmore November 24th 1817, f. 51

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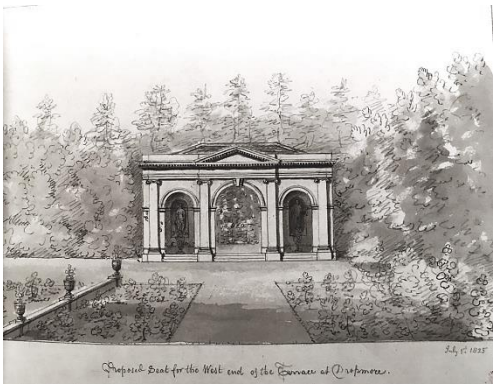


Figure 78:Proposed Seat for the West End of the Terrace at Dropmore July 1st 1825, f. 84

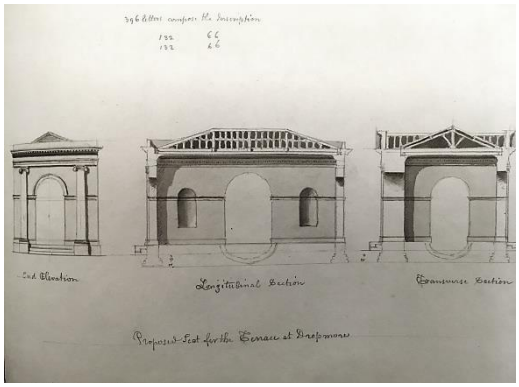


Figure 79:Proposed Seat for the Terrace at Boconnoc [undated] indicating that a proposed inscription would amount to 396 letters, f. 85

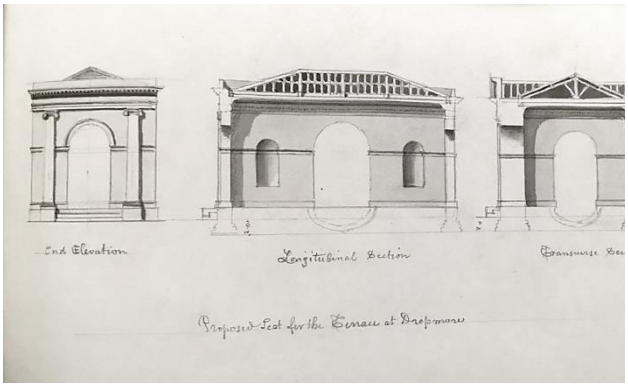
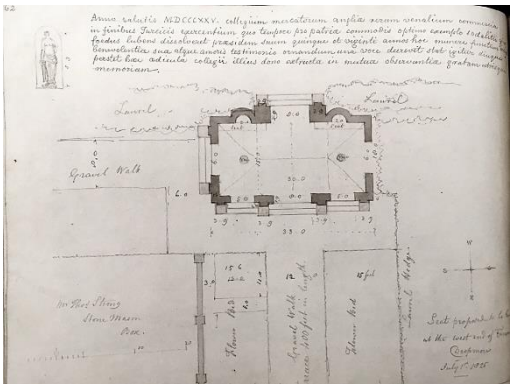


Figure 80:Proposed Seat for the Terrace at Dropmore without calculation of the letters in the proposed inscription



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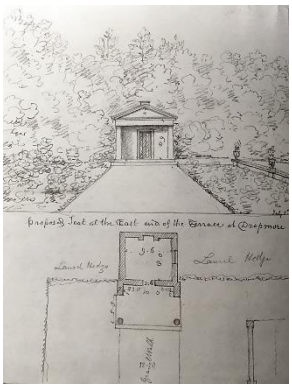

Figure 82:Proposed Seat at the East End of the Terrace at Dropmore July 1st 1825, f. 83v

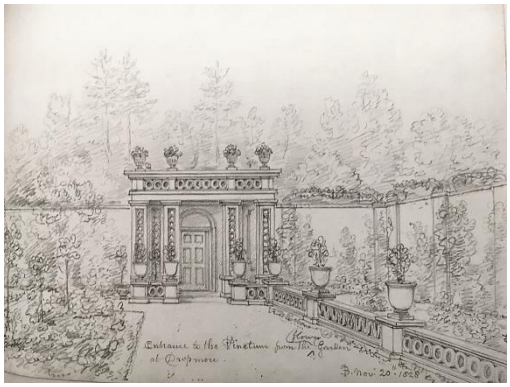

Figure 83:Entrance to the Pinetum from the Flower Garden November 20th 1828, f. 94

Figure 84:Entrance to the Flower Garden from the Pinetum Dropmore November 16 1830, f. 101

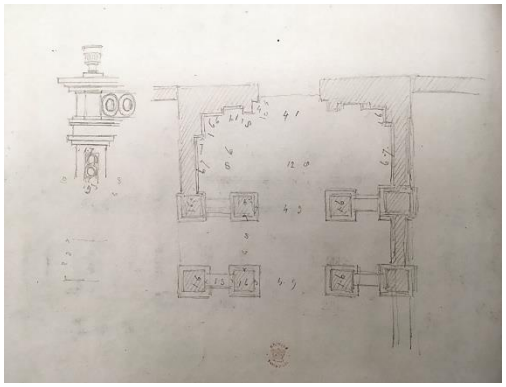

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Figure 87:Pavilion at the East End of the Laurel Terrace at Dropmore June 2nd 1840, f. 117

Associative

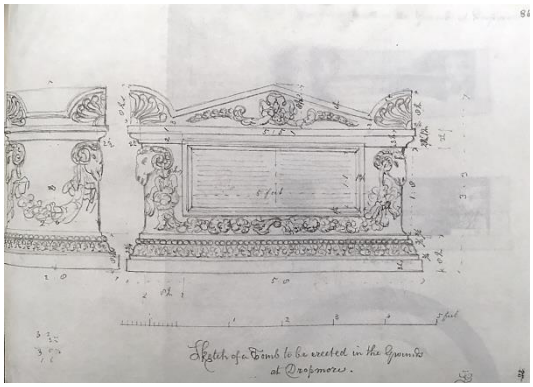

Figure 88:Sketch of a Tomb to be erected in the Grounds at Dropmore[undated], f. 86

Figure 89:Tippo's Tomb in the Garden at Dropmore July 1st 1825, f. 87

Figure 90:Boscobel Oak planted in the grounds at Dropmore April 29th 1830, f. 97

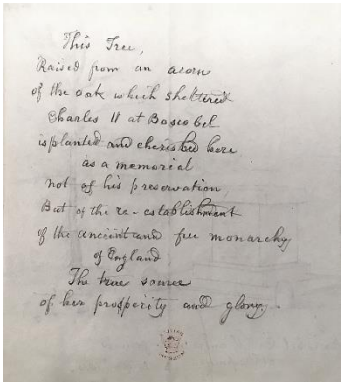

Figure 91:[Text of inscription on the Stone to mark the Boscobel Oak], f. 97v

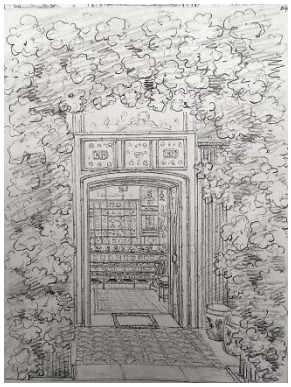

Figure 92:The Chinese Room at Dropmore [July 12th] 1833, f. 114

Figure 93:The Chinese Room at Dropmore July 12th 1833, f. 115

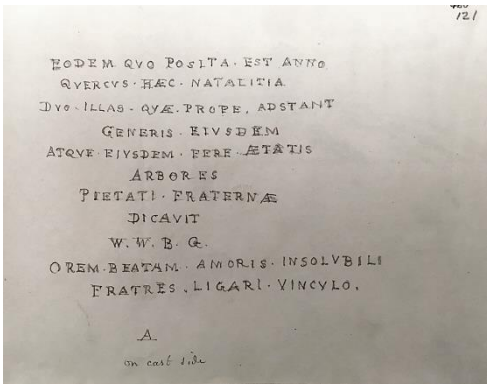

Figure 94:[Lettering to the East Side of the Stone marking the Birthday Oak], f.. 121

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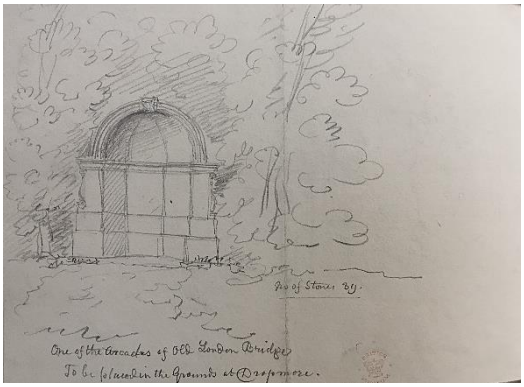

Figure 96; One of the Arcades of Old London Bridge to be placed in the Grounds at Dropmore. No of Stones 32 [Undated but on verso of Figure 64 dated 1832, so could have been a prospective sketch during Grenvilles lifetime], f. 111v

J. C. Buckler et.al. Illustrations for Dropmore, *The Essays*

Figure 97: *Essays*, Frontispiece

Figure 98. *Essays*, p. 4

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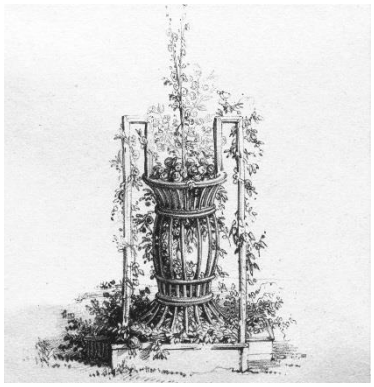

Figure 102: *Essays*, p. 38

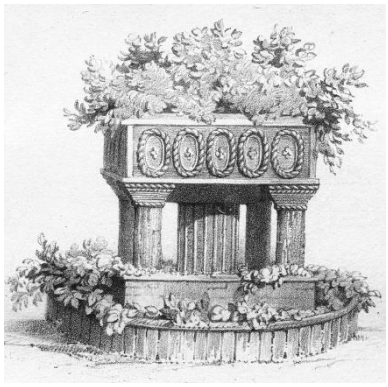

Figure 103: *Essays*, p. 39

Figure 104: *Essays*, p. 51

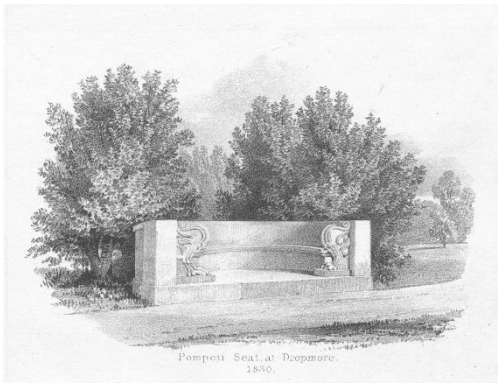

Figure 105: *Essays*, p. 63

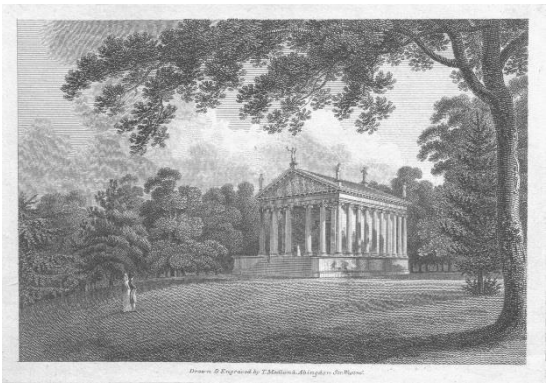

Figure 106: *Essays*, p. 64 [T. Medland]

Figure 107: *Essays*, p.68

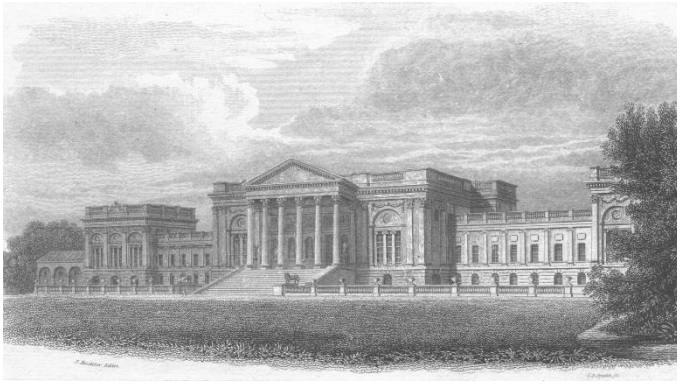

Figure 108: *Essays*, p. 69

Figure 109: *Essays*, p. 71

Figure 110: *Essays*, p. 72 [T. Medland]

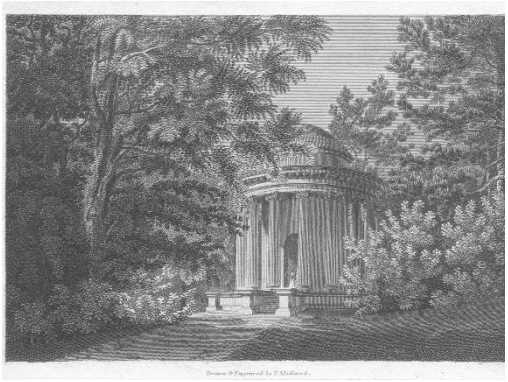

Figure 111: *Essays*, p. 74 [T. Medland]

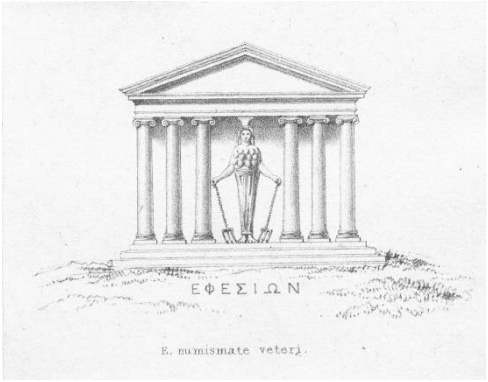

Figure 112: *Essays*, p. 80

Appendix 7: *Coniferous Trees Dropmore*, Frost, Philip et al.

[Copy of a Printed Garden Record Book Completed in Manuscript. 72 Sides and Cover. Contains 350 References. Boconnoc House. (Currently unavailable).]

Summary of relevant extracts.

[This record seems to have been compiled by Philip Frost up to entry 229 Sept 23rd 1887 when he died. Botanical notes including origins and usefulness are sometimes given. A marker of his long career at Dropmore is at Entry 226, 'Juniperus japonica alba. 1872. Planted in the 50th year of my coming to Dropmore and given me for the purpose by Mr John Waterer, Bagshot.'

[N.B. The species names given are those being used when the record was made.]

References to propagation and planting before January 1834.

8. Pinus laricio. 1829
14. Abies douglasii. 1835. Raised from a cutting in the year 1833, and planted out when eighteen inches high, the cutting raise by myself, P Frost.
16. Araucaria imbricata. 1830. Purchased in 1829 at a sale at Chiswick Gardens. Died 1901 'this was the finest tree at Dropmore height 780ft
6ins, diameter 8ft 7ins.
17. Araucaria imbricata. 1830. Given to Lord Grenville by HM King William IV from Kew.
20. Pinus ponderosa. 1829.
32. Araucaria imbricata. 1830. Raised from a cutting taken from a plant in Kew Gardens and got into the possession of Mr Knight Kings Road. Lord Grenville sent his gardener Mr Baillie to purchase it at any price and gave 10 guineas for it a mere branch with a few roots.
38. Abies douglasii. 1830. The seed that produced this tree was sent from the Horticultural Society to Lord Grenville about mid-winter 27-28 by the name of Abies taxifolia then renamed in honour of Douglas the discoverer.
44. Pinus Laricio.1829
45. Pinus pyrenaica. 1829?
79.Pinus neoza. Sent to Lord Grenville from the Hort. Soc Gardens about the year 1831 or 1832.

Several references are to trees raised by cuttings or seeds from Dropmore trees.
[These reference are all for the period after Frost began keeping a record in 1832; but they do indicate the importance attached to the Dropmore Pinetum]

Sources of trees.

Knights, Kings Road
Horticultural Society Garden, Chiswick
Mr Lees Nursery, Hammersmith
Veitch's Nursery (Exotic)
John Standish, Bagshot
The Earl of Howe
Mr Turner's Nursery, Slough - 52. Picea Nordmannii. Sept 10 1863. This was the last tree planted by Lady Grenville on a birthday.
Marquess of Stafford
Mr Dancer of Fulham
The Duke of Buccleuch
Lord Aberdeen
Dr Wallich from Calcutta
Chelsea Botanic Garden
Sir J W Hamlyn Williams
Mr Wells of Redleaf
Lady Pembroke
Earl Clare
Kew [Hooker]
Peed [or Reed] & Sons West Norwood
Waterers Bagshot
Veitches Nursery Coombe Wood
Henry Elwes
Balfour at Dawyck
Mr Wilding of Fulmer.

Record of plantings by individuals

1841 TG & AG - Araucaria imbricata
10/9/1861 AG birthday - Araucaria imbricata
10/9/1863 AG birthday - Picea nordmanniana
1841 Mr Grenville and AG assisted in the planting. Cedrus deodara.
1845 Mr Phillimore and AG - Sequoia sempervirens
1838 AG on coronation of VR - Cedrus deodara
1872 Philip Frost - 50th anniversary at Dropmore - Juniperus japonica alba
1887 Lady Louisa, Miss and Mr B fortescue. 50th anniversary of reign of VRI - Araucaria imbricata
23/4/1904 Mrs Fortescue - Picea grandis
1904 George Fortescue - Cupressus lawsoniana vietchii
1904 John Fortescue - Cedrus deodara
28/4.1904 George Fortescue - Cupressus macrocarpa lutea
25/5/1904 Visit by the King Queen and Princess Victoria
8/8/1904 Princess Louise Augusta of Schleswig - Holstein - Taxus baccata aurea
2/7/1905 Edward VII RI - Picea nobilis
29/8/1904 Prince Henry of Battenberg -Picea pungens
29/8/1904 Princess Victoria Eugenie of Battenberg - Picea concolor
29/8/1804 Prince Alexander of Battenberg - Cedrus atlantica
19/8/1905 Princess Elizabeth of Romania - Retinospora obtusa Crippii
19/8/1905 Crown Princess of Romania - Picea grandis
19/8/1905 Crown Prince of Romania - Abies hookeriana
13/8/1906 Princess Mary of Wales - Abies sieboldii
13/8/1906 Prince Albert of Wales - Pinus contorta
23/5/1907 The Prince of Wales - Pinus parviflora
17/6/1908 Prince Alexander of Teck - Pinus flexilis
17/6/1908 Princess Alexander of Teck - Abies apollinis
13/5/1909 Prince Henry of Wales - Abies bracteata
19/7/1908 Crown Princess of Sweden - Pinus Coulteri
1911 Queen Mary - Tsuga japonica
1911 The Prince of Wales - Pinus sabiana
1913 Countess Hochberg - Araucaria imbricata
1913 Lady Ellis - Cedrus deodara

Appendix 8: Letter from Uvedale Price to Grenville

BL Add MS 59460, ff. 148-50

My Dear Lord

We often think & talk of the very pleasant day we passed at Dropmore, & of your Lordship's & Lady Grenville's very kind & flattering reception. I have seldom indeed passed a day so much to my satisfaction & so interesting in various ways. Many parts of the place which I saw with so much pleasure under your guidance, so present to my memory that if I had the hand as I have in some degree acquired, the eye of a painter I would readily draw them: The detail of curious plants in which I take a great interest, especially of the pine tribe there was not time to examine. Lady Caroline & my daughter, who are not as fond of plants as myself, are much better acquainted with many of them & another year we shall without example & with great pleasure accept the very kind invitation we received to pass more time at Dropmore. I had not heard of the rock work & when I say I liked it beyond comparison better than any I have ever seen, I am paying it no great compliment. Yours will every year be improving by the growth of the plants with which you have enriched it, for they are most delightful ornaments; but the scale, the form & arrangement, with the size of the stones of which it is comprised are such that no disguise was required. The artificial mound & the anchor of large bodies of trees at the foot of it I had heard of & thought of it as a bold hazardous experiment; The mound was made for an excellent purpose which it answers; but no one ought to judge of it or of what is below, in its present made & nearly finished state: to me it appears so well designed & the trunks are of such a size & character, that I have no doubt of the effect when the various plants & climbers begin to shoot luxuriously & give the whole what in this case is required, both disguise & ornament. What appears to me to call for most attention at Dropmore, though you have been far from neglecting it, is, on many parts, the outline of the woods, for in some nothing can be better: on this very essential point I took the liberty of offering some suggestions, and now, at the risk of appearing both arrogant & importunate, will take the further liberty of repeating them; & must beg you to attribute it to the true cause the interest I feel in the place & its owner. The Beech, of which your woods are principally composed, from the nature of its shoots & foliage forms a comparatively thin outline against the sky; as is at once perceived, when there are oaks, chestnuts, sycamore trees in their neighbourhood: these last therefore, whenever they happen to be mixed with the beech, should, I think generally have the preference. The trees in your woods, as you are well aware, have been left too close, & what is excellent in a phalanx & sounds finely to the ear in trees, is to the painter's eye, very bad for a wood & [follows several words in Greek] Where a certain number of trees at various distances have had room to spread at top, one may with little

scruple yet still with some degree of caution, cut down any tall neighbours of indifferent forms that begin to press against them; but when all had long been crowded, it would be safest & best after cutting down in the first instance, all that you fell one could on no account be wanting; to pitch upon those near, at proper distance from one another, whose heads gave the best promise; & to shorten at sufficient height, as the case might require, the heads of all that touched, or were likely soon to touch those of the selected trees; as likewise on the same account, if required, their side boughs: by such a method, the top, & higher part of the selected trees, would never again be checked, while those where tops & sides had been pruned, would become thick, & prevent any unsightly vacancies & thinness at a height too which young trees planted in their stead, would be an age in thinning; then from the increased vigour given by beheading which should always be done where there is the kindest bough or shoot - the new head would after project strongly & irregularly, from varied groups with the other trees, & give some diversity to the monotonous inside of such woods. In a few years, many of these favoured trees might, when wanted for any purpose, be cut down; as what would be left of the same kind would then be enough for the purpose of the thickening; while those meant to be felled would have done their duty, have done no mischief, & would have been increasing in size & value; this little circumstance of profit, convenience & utility when attended with no disadvantage, is not to be despised. Wherever I have provided this method I have found it answer in all the respects I have mentioned; but I must here observe what you probably have noticed, that although the beech bears the shade & drop of other trees much better than the oak, yet it does not, like the oak, shoot out freely and kindly if the boughs be cut close to the stem; care therefore should be taken, not only to behead the trees where there is a healthy shoot, but to leave inch shoots in shortening – what I am afraid will not very often be found, the side branches below. This is the first time I have ever put down in writing my notions on the subject, though I have long applied them in practice; I wish, if you should approve of the mode, that you may find them clear; or other, on one condition, that you may not, but think if necessary, before you began working yourself, to take at this place, some practical lessons; to see & examine my various implements of pruning, of all sorts & lengths from a hacker & and axe to poles of nineteen & more feet long, curiously furnished at the end with the means of cutting, chiselling, shooking; so that boughs & twigs which thought themselves quite out of reach, cannot escape. You ought - & so ought Lady Grenville, who, I am sure, from what I remarked, is a very keen observer – to see my two experienced pruners making use of these implements; to see them perched in high trees waiting the word of command while I, like another Wellington, take my stand on vantage ground, viewing one of my compositions that had been opened, but not quite finished, some foliage perhaps here & there hiding part of the distance: the last touches are then to be given; “shake the bough on your left” I cry to one of them “not that, the small one below it, shake it; that’s right, shorten it where your hand is” In this manner my pictures (a very numerous collection to which I am always adding) are formed, even to a twig, with the materials of nature on the principles, as far as my judgement goes of the best landscape painters. It is to me a

most amusing & interesting employment & I think you would be amused by seeing the general creation of one of these pictures, or the retouching of some of them where nature – who is sometimes said, has a great deal of execution but little taste – had begun to know her random foliage & I might say – the familiarity in Homer is not more

[*A line written in Greek*]

Lady Caroline wishes no less heartily than myself, that what is thus thrown out da ischerzo, [jokingly] might take place in good earnest, & when Your Lordship & Lady Grenville could spare full time for seeing all that in various ways I should have so much delight in showing you. [The letter continues with comments on the treatment of Greek and Latin verses, Grenville evidently having given him a copy of his *Nugae Metricae* during his visit]

Your most faithful humble servant

U Price

Appendix 9; Maps

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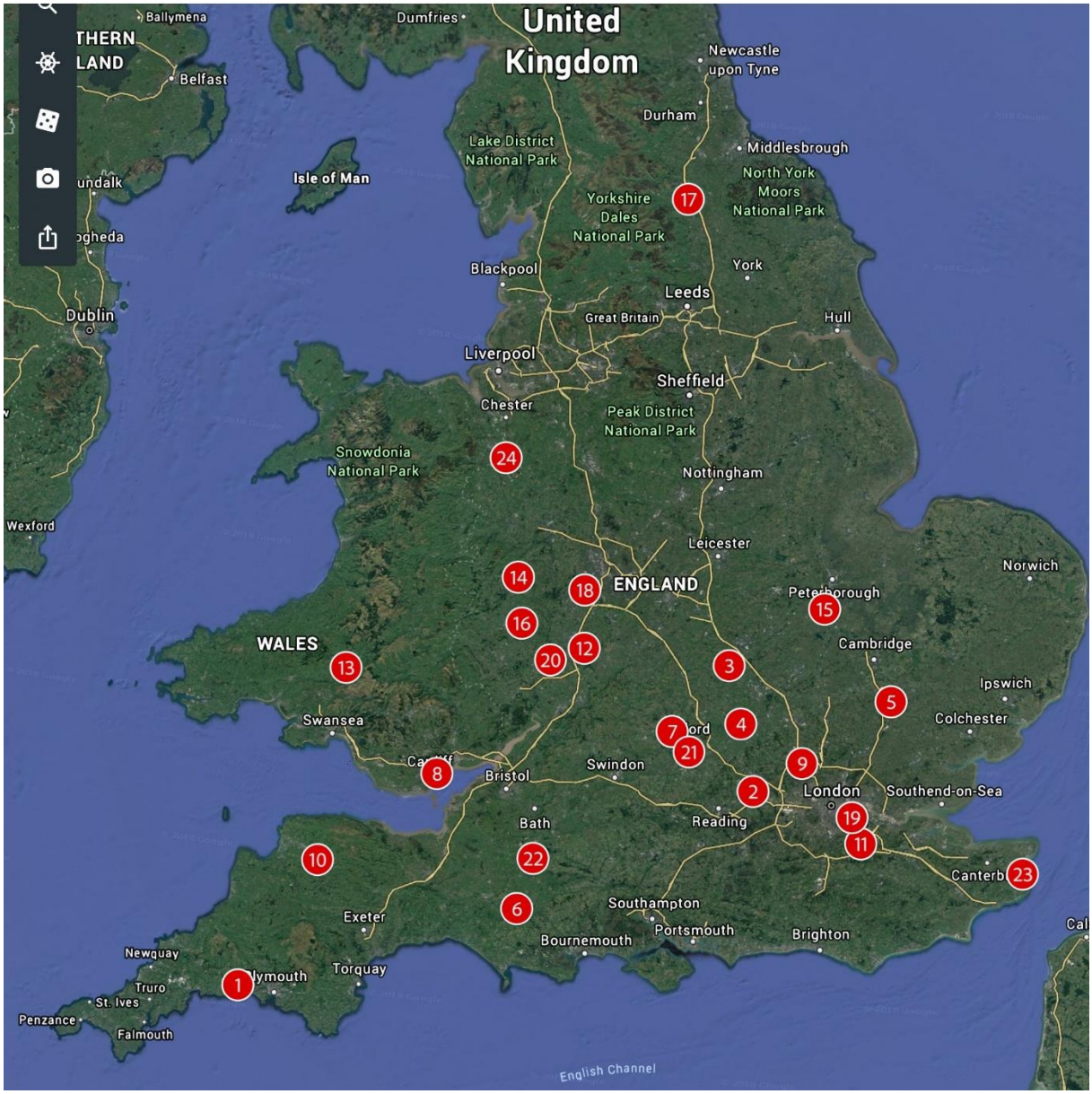
England and Wales



Map 1; Some places of particular significance for the Grenvilles. Google Earth image. (accessed 19/07/2018)

1. Boconnoc 2. Dropmore 3. Stowe 4. Wotton Underwood

5. Audley End 6. Blandford St Mary 7. Blenheim 8. Cardiff Castle 9. Cassiobury
10. Castle Hill 11. Chevening 12. Croome Court 13. Dinevor 14.Downton on the Rock.
15. Elton Hall 16. Foxley 17. Hackfall 18. Hagley and the Leasowes.
19. Holwood 20. Malvern 21. Nuneham
22. Stourhead 23. Walmer 24. Wynnstay

Dropmore.

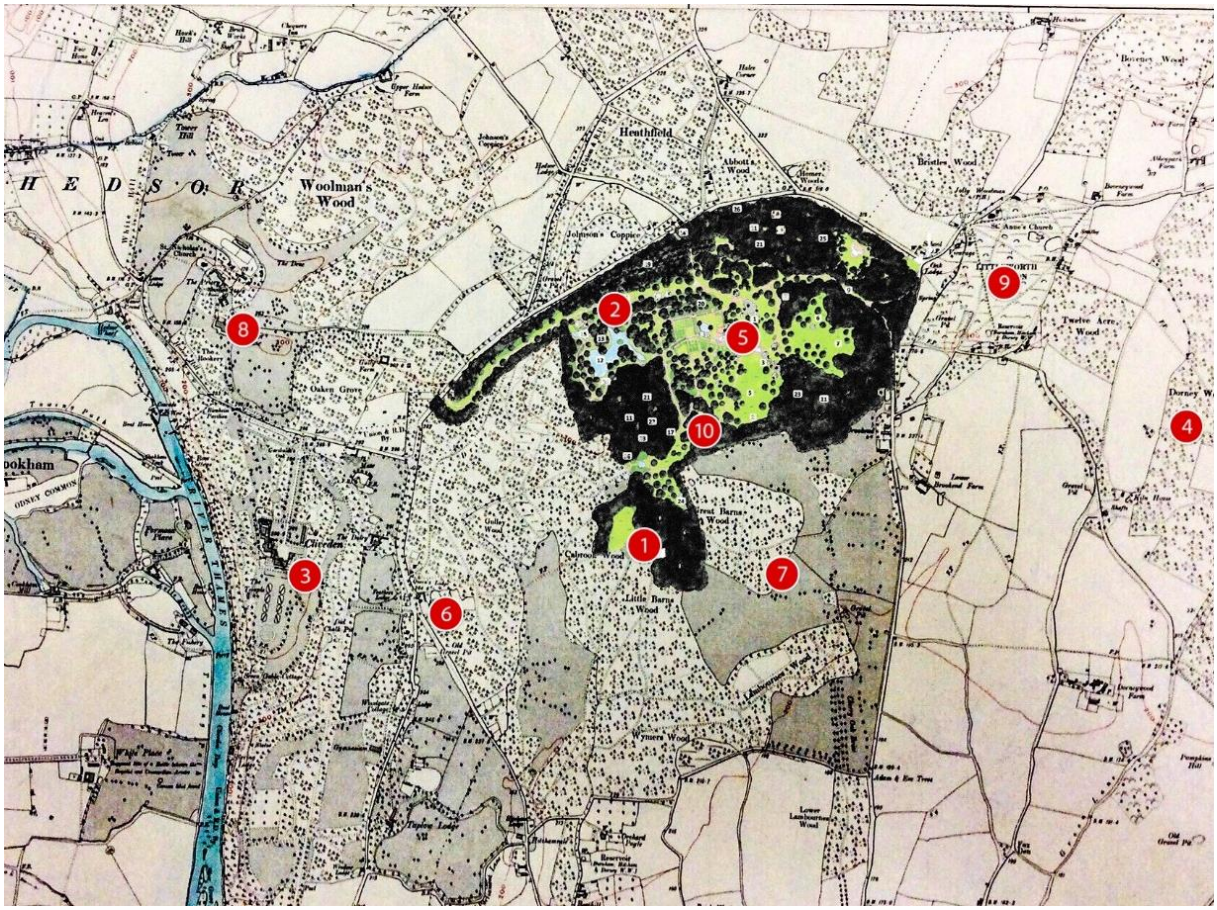
Map 2; Dropmore area on T. Jeffreys's Map of Buckinghamshire 1770 © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

Map 3; Dropmore area on A. Bryant's Map of Buckinghamshire. 1825 © Centre for Buckingham Studies.

Map 4; Left. From the unimplemented Inclosure Award for Hitcham Parish 1779, IR/133. Right; From the Burnham Parish Tithe Map 1841 TM/74. © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

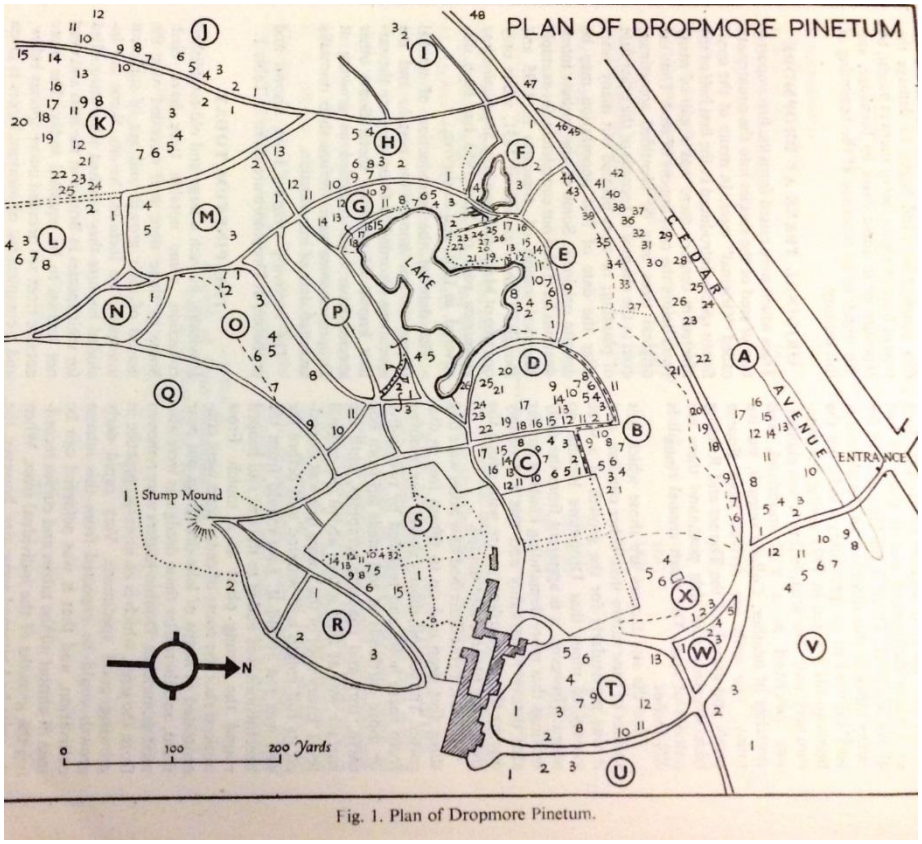
Map 5; From the Burnham Parish Tithe Map 1841 TM/74. © Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

Maps 4 & 5 show how Grenville's Park was split between the Parishes of Hitcham and Burnham, with the Parish of Dorney intruding into Burnham between Dropmore and Burnham Beeches.



Map 6; The area to be subject of an Historic Landscape Masterplan proposed in planning application 13/00543/FUL, 2013 overlaid on the OS 1914. © Colson Stone and Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

1. Cabrook 2. Cedar Walk and Pinetum 3. Cliveden
4. Dorney Wood; outer edge of Burnham Beeches. 5. Dropmore House 6. Feathers Inn
7. Golf Course; since 1992 8. Hedsor 9. Littleworth Common 10. Root Mound.



Map 7: Plan of Dropmore Grounds showing Location of the House and Garden Compartments. A F Mitchell 1963 FR No 48 © Forestry Commission.

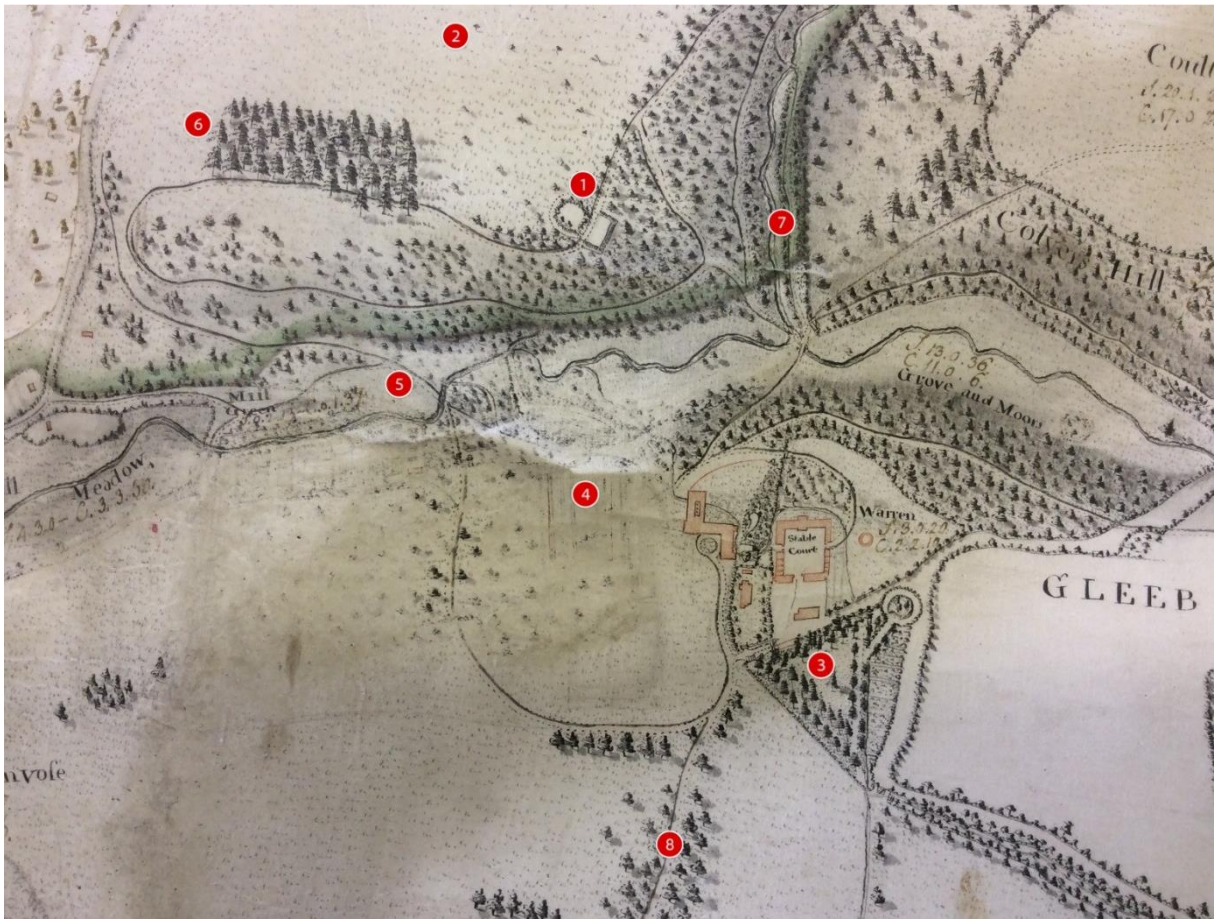
Only three ‘Original Trees’, those from the first successful introduction, then surviving in the Pinetum, planted before 1834 were identified by Mitchell. These were in Areas E D & H. From this, and the position of the Cedar Walk in A , it may be concluded that it was in those areas that Grenville developed his Pinetum.

Boconnoc

Map 8; Google Earth image of Boconnoc (accessed 19/07/2018)

The areas appearing as arable in the Deer Park (7) and the (Lawns 10) have now been returned to permanent pasture. The image was taken before the *R. ponticum* was removed from the plantations adjacent to the Obelisk Drive.

1. Boconnoc Glebe (before 1809) 2. Braddock Rectory 3. Brownshill 4. Colliershill 5. Couch's Mill 6. Dawna 7. Deer Park 8. Heron's Hill 9. Horsepool 10. Lawns 11. Millcombe 12. Obelisk 13. Penvose 14. Prowda Park 15. Roselyon 16. Sowdens (Valley Crucis) 17. Stewardry 18. Tar or Torr Rock 19. Talay 20. Walled Garden. 21. West Drive.



Map 9; Part of the Boconnoc Estate Plan '1772' CRO F/3/14/11 © Cornwall Record Office

1. Bastion 2. Deer Park 3. Dorothy Garden (then Shrubbery) with formal layout.
4. Former Fruit and Vegetable Garden 5. Probable site of former Mill
6. Seventeenth-century Continental style planting in ‘Battalions’ 7. Sowdens 8. The Avenue.

Map 10; From the Commissioner's Draft Inclosure Plan for the Boconnoc, Braddock and St Winnow Inclosure. John Bowen. 1820 © Cornwall Record Office CRO F/1/326.

Map 11; From the Tithe Map for Boconnoc Parish. John Bowen. 1838,CRO TM/12 © Cornwall Record Office.

Map12 ; Mark up of Map 11.

1. Bastion 2. Deer Park (Original) 3. Boarden Bridge 4. Cascade 5. Dorothy Garden
6. Former Parsonage and Glebe 7. Lawns 8. Lead Mine, 9. Leat 10. Quarry 11. Nursery
12. Obelisk 13. Shrubbery (after 1808)
14. Sowdens 15. Walled Garden 16. The Avenue.